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CRAFTSMANSHIP IN MOSAIC FROM MEXICO AND PERU

Breast ornament in form of a two-headed snake, stone knife, and masks of Quetzalcoatl (left) and Tezcatlipoca—part of treasure sent by Motecuzoma II to Cortés for the king of Spain.

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VOLUME SEVEN

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THE AGE OF DISCOVERY AND THE REFORMATION

1492-1660

New York

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MCMXXXIX

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Seventh Era

THE WORLD ENLARGED

1492—1660

CHRONICLE XXIII—The Epoch of the Reformation, 1492-1555

CHAPTER

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With the close of our Sixth Era we reach the point at which, by general consent, 'Modern History' opens: the moment when the two halves of the world, hitherto unaware of each other, became suddenly conscious of each other's existence; when the hitherto pathless ocean became for the first time a highway and a battlefield, because the adventurous peoples of the West had discovered at once new outlets for expansion and new fields of rivalry, even at the moment when new intellectual and moral horizons were revealing themselves, and Europe politically was organizing itself upon the Great Powers basis. The Seventh Era is the first phase of the new order. In it the most prominent feature is the struggle which vainly hurled nations against each other and divided them against themselves for the mastery of one or the other of two rival religious ideals, only to learn that neither could be mastered by the other; while the oceanic expansion was less conspicuously shaping the lines on which future rivalries were to develop.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXIII

A.D.

1493 Frederick III (emperor) d.; Maximilian succeeds, but is never crowned by pope.
Pope Alexander issues bull granting to Spain all territories discovered west of a line drawn down the Atlantic, all east of it to Portugal.

1494 Treaty of Tordesillas completes partition of the New World between Spain and Portugal.
Asia: acc. Babar in Ferghana.
Charles VIII of France invades Italy.

1495 Charles occupies Naples, but withdraws and has to fight his way back to France.

1497 The Cabots discover Labrador and Newfoundland.

1498 Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut in India.
Savonarola burned at Florence.

1499 Louis XII claims and takes Milan.

1500 India: the Sikh brotherhood founded by Nanuk.
Voyage of Amerigo Vespucci; S. American coastline explored.
Treaty of Granada between Louis XII and Ferdinand of Aragon.

1501 Louis and Ferdinand seize Naples.

1503 Alexander III d.; Julius II pope.
War between Louis and Ferdinand; Gonsalvo de Córdova, the "Great Captain," wins battle of Garigliano.
James IV of Scotland m. Margaret Tudor; origin of the Stuart succession.

1504 Ferdinand secures Naples permanently. Isabella d.; Joanna proclaimed queen of Castile, and her husband Philip king.
Asia: Babar makes himself king of Kabul.

1505 Ivan III of Moscow d.

1506 Philip of Castile d.; Ferdinand regent for Joanna and her son Charles.

1507 Portuguese seize Ormuz (Persian Gulf).

1509 Henry VIII acc.; m. Katharine of Aragon.

1510 Portuguese establish themselves at Goa.

1511 The Holy League formed against France.

1512 Rise of Wolsey in England.
Medici family return to Florence.
Gaston de Foix killed at battle of Ravenna; expulsion of French from Italy.
Ferdinand annexes Navarre s. of Pyrenees to Aragon. N. Navarre independent.
Ottomans: Selim I deposes his father Bajazet II and massacres his kinsmen.

1513 Julius II d.; acc. pope Leo X (Medici).
James IV of Scotland killed at Flodden.
Ponce de Leon in Florida.
Balboa discovers the Pacific from Darien.

1514 Selim drives Persians behind the Tigris.

1515 Acc. Francis I in France. He captures Milan, after winning battle of Marignano.

1516 Ferdinand of Aragon d.; his grandson Charles of Castile and the Netherlands becomes Carlos I of Spain.
Selim I overthrows the Mamelukes in Syria.

1517 Martin Luther denounces indulgences.
Selim conquers Egypt, deports the khalif to Constantinople, and assumes the Khalifate, retained by the Ottoman sultans for four centuries.

1519 Maximilian I d.; his grandson Carlos I of Spain succeeds to the Austrian inheritance, and is elected Emperor Charles V.
Magellan: first voyage of circumnavigation.
Cortés begins conquest of Mexico.
Babar makes an exploratory raid on Punjab.

1520 Selim I d. while besieging Rhodes; acc. Suleiman the Magnificent.
Field of the Cloth of Gold.
Christian II of Denmark massacres Swedish nobles at "blood-bath of Stockholm."
War begins between Charles V and Francis I.

A.D.

Luther burns Leo X's bull of excommunication.

1521 Diet of Worms begins battle of Reformation.
Charles transfers Austrian inheritance to his brother Ferdinand.
Suleiman captures Belgrade.
Adrian VI (Burgundian) pope.
Zwingli at Zurich.

1522 Suleiman takes Rhodes.

1523 Gustavus Vasa elected king of Sweden.
Knights' War in Germany.
Clement VII (Medici) pope.

1524 Peasant revolt in Germany.
India: Babar invades Punjab, but retires.

1525 Albert of Hohenzollern, last grand master of Teutonic Knights, made duke of Prussia.
Francis I defeated and taken prisoner at Pavia.

1526 Lewis of Hungary and Bohemia killed at Turkish victory of Mohacs. His brother-in-law Ferdinand of Austria succeeds to both crowns.
Babar destroys Lodi empire at Panipat.

1527 Rome sacked by imperialist troops.
Babar defeats the Rajputs.

1529 First unsuccessful siege of Vienna by Turks.
Henry VIII resolves to discard papal authority. Fall of Wolsey.

1530 Diet and Confession of Augsburg.
Charles V crowned by pope. Ferdinand k. of Romans.
Babar d.; acc. Humayun at Delhi.

1533 Pizarro conquers Peru. End of Inca empire.

1534 Paul III (Farnese) pope. Final repudiation of papal authority in England.

1535 Jacques Cartier on the S. Lawrence.

1536 Calvin's Institutes.

1536-9 Dissolution of English monasteries.

1539-42 De Soto's expedition through Florida to the Mississippi.

1540 Paul III institutes Jesuit order.
Sher Shah expels Humayun from India.

1541 Calvin permanently established at Geneva.
Disastrous Algerian expedition of Charles.
Religious compromise of Ratisbon.

1542 James V of Scotland d.; infant Mary queen.
War of Charles and Henry with Francis.
Portuguese ships visit Japan.

1545 Council of Trent opens.
Sher Shah d.

1546 Luther d. Outbreak of Schmalkaldic war.

1547 Council of Trent, sitting at Bologna, adjourns.
Moscow: acc. Ivan IV the Terrible.

1548 Mary q. of Scots sent to France. Mary of Lorraine regent in Scotland.

1550 Acc. Pope Julius III.

1551 Council of Trent reassembled by Julius.

1552 Maurice of Saxony, in agreement with France, rises against Charles and drives him out of Germany. Henry occupies Metz, Toul and Verdun. Charles is compelled to accept Pacification of Passau.

1554 Mary of England m. Philip, crown prince of Spain. Begins persecution of Protestants.

1555 Settlement of the religious question in Germany by the peace of Augsburg.
Charles resigns Netherlands and Italy to Philip.
India: Humayun returns and retakes Delhi.

1556 Charles abdicates; acc. Philip II (Spain) and Ferdinand (Empire).

Chronicle XXIII

THE EPOCH OF DISCOVERY AND THE REFORMATION: 1492—1555

THE practically simultaneous discoveries, a few years before the fifteenth century closed, of the ocean routes from Europe to the East and to a vast unknown continent beyond the western ocean are taken, so far as any date can be taken, to mark the dividing line between the medieval and the modern worlds. By this double discovery the existence of the other three-quarters of the globe was at one stroke revealed; and the event was sufficient in itself to inaugurate a vast revolution among the nations of the known world.

THE printing press facilitated the diffusion of knowledge; the fall of Constantinople gave an accidental impulse to humanism by the attendant dispersion of Greek books; the conquest of Granada and Charles VIII's invasion of Italy were significant of the new stage of national consolidation arriving in western Europe; Luther's denunciation of indulgences gave the Reformation movement the character of a direct challenge to the Papacy: but all these were merely notable incidents in the course of a group of movements which in combination amounted to a political and intellectual revolution, and a long interval of time separated the first of them from the last. None of them had the individual significance or the unexpectedness of the double maritime discovery.

The effect, however, did not immediately make itself felt in the European situation. Portugal for the time monopolized the advantages to which she was fully entitled in the east, and Spain in the far west. An English expedition, under the Genoese or Venetian captains John and Sebastian Cabot, was the first actually to reach the American mainland, but the discovery was not followed up, since the region, Labrador, seemed not to be worth exploiting. The Portuguese Cabral, carried west when he meant to go east, discovered and annexed Brazil, which fell to Portugal under the bull of partition issued in 1493 by Pope Alexander VI; otherwise Spain had the New World to herself until her exclusive rights were challenged by the Elizabethan seamen.

HENCE there is no apparent convulsion in European politics; yet in actual fact a revolution has already been accomplished in the European system. Four "great powers" have come into being, and the relations between them, primarily between three of them—Spain, France, the Hapsburgs—are the determining factor; England is comparatively, but only comparatively, detached from the rest because she no longer has direct territorial interests on the Continent; but various portions of Italy and Burgundy never cease to provide bones of contention among the other three. For a long time to come England's main concern is to prevent either France or Spain from gaining such a preponderance over the other as to create a menace to herself; a new formula is taking shape—the "balance of power."

It is important, however, to remark that the division into great powers is not so much national as dynastic. The Italian and Burgundian territories for which the three continental powers are going to contend have no national connection with any one of them; their titles to possession are purely dynastic.

The point is emphasized when, within a few years, the heir apparent of the Hapsburgs is also the heir presumptive of the Spanish kingdoms; when the two powers are for a time united under one Hapsburg prince; and when, at the close of this chapter, they remain linked together though no longer actually united, as the Spanish Hapsburg power which retains Burgundy, and the Austrian imperial Hapsburg power, which has attached to itself Czech Bohemia and Magyar Hungary.

Our present chapter falls into two definitely distinct divisions, marked by the accession of Charles V as emperor in 1519 at the moment when the Papacy

A VERSATILE EMPEROR

Maximilian I (1459-1519) became emperor in 1493. A versatile man, he included the writing of books in his activities, employing among others for their illustration Albrecht Dürer, who drew this portrait of him.

British Museum

was taking up the challenge which had just been flung down to it by Martin Luther. The first division corresponds with the imperial reign of Maximilian, who succeeded Frederick III in 1493, the second with that of his grandson who abdicated in 1556. It was Maximilian's death that combined Spain, Burgundy and Austria under the Hapsburgs, and it was the abdication of Charles that again divided the Hapsburgs into eastern and western. It was Luther's challenge that suddenly created a new line of cleavage in Europe, neither national nor dynastic, but religious, of which there had been no symptom while Maximilian lived—a line vague at first, but just reaching definition when Charles abdicated.

In our first period Maximilian's son Philip has inherited Burgundy, not from his father, but from his mother. But he is also his father's heir. By his marriage to Joanna, the daughter and heiress of both Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile—kingdoms still separable—his son Charles becomes heir presumptive to both in addition to his Hapsburg inheritance. Philip dies before Maximilian, and thus it is Charles who in 1519 succeeds to the whole Hapsburg and Spanish heritage (though he makes over Austria to his brother Ferdinand), a vast assortment of heterogeneous territories and nationalities with no territorial continuity and no common traditions.

Henry VII of England marries his daughter to the king of Scots; with the result, due to the matrimonial eccentricities of his son Henry VIII, that the young queen of Scots is in one view the legitimate heiress-presumptive to the English throne, to which at the beginning of the next century her son actually succeeds. The kings of France and Aragon both lay claim to the crown of Naples,

CHARLES VIII OF FRANCE

Charles VIII (1470-98) succeeded his father, Louis XI, in 1483, and until 1491 his sister, Anne of Beaujeu, ruled France. Against her advice Charles then embarked upon his Italian schemes, which brought him small credit.

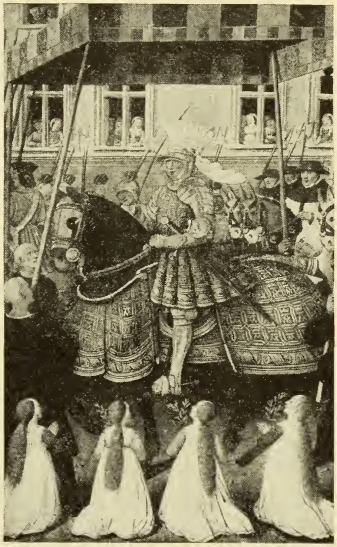
Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari

the former as representing the house of Anjou, which had resigned there till the accession of Alfonso of Aragon, the latter as the legitimate heir of Alfonso himself, who had left it to his own illegitimate offspring. And Louis XII of France claims the duchy of Milan as grandson of Valentina, the legitimate sister of the last Visconti duke, Filippo Maria, whereas the reigning Sforza family are the children or grandchildren of his illegitimate daughter Bianca.

Italy, at the very height, during our first period, of her intellectual brilliance, matching that of the Greeks of the fifth century before the Christian era, is also the main stage of the political drama; but her political history is even literally poisonous. Italian patriotism and even the conception of Italian unity have no place in it. The one statesman who was possessed with that idea, Niccolo Machiavelli the Florentine, could see no hope of its realization except in the appearance of a despot who would shrink from no crime that would help to make his power irresistible. There was no lack of candidates with this necessary moral qualification, but something else was needed in which they were wanting, and they never achieved irresistible power. How they might have used it is another question. In fact, only one of them, Cesare Borgia, came near to achieving eminence, and his fall was as sudden as his rise had been rapid. His father, Roderigo Borgia—Pope Alexander VI, 1492-1503—was disqualified by his office, not by his character.

The fighting in Italy was actually started by the misrule of the reigning dynasts of Naples, King Ferrante (Ferdinand) and his son who succeeded him as Alfonso II in 1494. The nobles resolved to offer the crown to a prince with a legitimate title, and they fixed upon Charles VIII of France. In 1494 Charles crossed the Alps at the head of a French army, meeting no effective opposition, but rather welcomed in north Italy. Alfonso ran away, and early next year Charles VIII of France was master of the kingdom.

The rapidity of his success alarmed the north into forming a league against him. He marched thither, leaving the government of his new kingdom in French hands, and found that he had to fight his way back to France. He did nothing more in Italy, died in 1498, and was succeeded on the throne by his cousin Louis XII (of Orléans). Meanwhile, the French made themselves so unpopular in Naples that Ferdinand II, son of Alfonso,



"FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE"

Like Charles VIII, whom he succeeded in 1498, Louis XII occupied himself disadvantageously with Italian affairs, although in France his rule was popular. This miniature in a French manuscript depicts his entry into Genoa in 1507.

Bibliothèque Nationale; from Larousse, "Histoire de France"

recovered the crown there with little difficulty, but, dying next year, the throne came into possession of Frederick, who was the uncle of the dead king.

Louis, duke of Orléans, evicted Lodovico Sforza from Milan and then turned to Naples, but found that Ferdinand of Aragon was now disposed to assert his own claim there. The pair thereupon made an unholy bargain for the partition of the kingdom by the treaty of Granada (1500), and Frederick, seeing that resistance was hopeless, surrendered Naples

A POLITICAL GAME OF CARDS IN 1500

This French caricature—perhaps the earliest example of a political cartoon—shows Louis XII playing cards with the Swiss and Venetian rulers, anxiously watched by his ally, Pope Alexander VI. The emperor stands by with a fresh pack and Henry VII of England converses aside with Ferdinand of Spain.

From Jaime, "Musée de la Caricature"

to Louis. Here the French king's successes ended. Friction with the Spaniards developed into war. The young Spanish commander, Gonsalvo de Córdova, whose brilliance won him the name of the Great Captain, gained repeated victories against heavy odds, the French were ejected, and the whole kingdom of Naples was annexed (1503) to the Kingdom of Aragon.

Meanwhile, Savonarola in Florence and the Borgias in central Italy had run their tragic courses. Lorenzo de' Medici died in 1492. His younger son was made a cardinal, and became Pope Leo X in 1513; the elder son, Piero, succeeded to Lorenzo's position, but made himself so unpopular that the Medici were expelled from Florence. The Dominican Savonarola, who had acquired immense influence as a reformer of morals, unhappily assumed the character of a political leader; his political sagacity was not equal to his moral enthusiasm; he found himself in collision with Pope Alexander; the hot fit of emotional fervor which he had aroused among the Florentines cooled down; in 1498 he was condemned as a heretic and executed as a traitor. Fourteen years later the Medici were restored in Florence.

Alexander (Roderigo Borgia) was the nephew of a previous pope, Calixtus III, who had set an evil example by raising him to the cardinalate in spite of notorious vices—so completely had the Council of Constance failed, in restoring the Papacy, to restore its spiritual character. He was the father of sundry illegitimate but acknowledged children, among them Cesare and Lucrezia, who enjoys a lamentable and probably quite undeserved fame as an expert in the use of poison for political or sentimental purposes. Nevertheless, intrigue

"BEHOLD, I WILL BRING A SWORD UPON YOU"

While preaching one of his Advent sermons at Florence, in 1492, Savonarola beheld a vision of the sword of the Lord descending towards the earth while voices promised vengeance to the wicked and mercy to the faithful. The vision is recorded on a contemporary medal of the school of Niccolo Fiorentino.

British Museum

brought him the tiara on the death of Innocent VIII in 1492. His primary object was to convert the numerous principalities of the Romagna into a solid principality for Cesare. For he was planning to add Tuscany to the Romagna when, in 1503, he and his father—as it was universally believed—drank of the wine they intended for an adversary. Alexander died; Cesare recovered; but in the meantime another adversary secured his own succession to the papal throne as Julius II.

The reign of Julius (1503-13) was mainly devoted to the attempt to make the pope the leading secular prince in Italy. Ferdinand, Louis XII, Maximilian and the Venetian republic, as well as the pope, all had diverse interests in the Italian question. The result was the League of Cambrai (1508), a league of the other four powers against Venice, with intent to a partition between them of her subject territories. But when she had been duly stripped the league broke up. Julius wanted to turn the French out of Italy; and in 1511 the Holy League between Julius, Ferdinand and Venice set about that project, Ferdinand, according to his custom, throwing the burden of the work upon his allies. The young king of England, Henry VIII (1509-47), and Maximilian were both drawn into the league, that they might effect a diversion by attacking French Flanders and Guienne.

The French at first won brilliant victories under a young captain of genius, Gaston de Foix. But with his death in 1512 the tide turned. The French were driven out; the Sforza and the anti-French Medici were restored in Milan and Florence; the Switzers, whose infantry hardly knew what it was to be defeated, and had rendered invaluable service, were rewarded with control over the principal Alpine passes; and Ferdinand incidentally annexed the Spanish portion of the kingdom of Navarre. The former subjects of Venice were restored to her. When Julius died in 1513 he had

"DESPOT UNDER THE FORMS OF LAW"

Subtlety of intellect and strength of will were principal characteristics of Henry VIII (1490-1547) and both are suggested in this portrait of him attributed to Holbein. In his intervention in European affairs and also in his breach with Rome, he was largely influenced by zeal for the greatness of England.

National Portrait Gallery, London

established the Papal State, but the foreigner was as firmly planted in Italy as he had been before.

Two years later the French were back in Milan. Louis died at the very beginning of 1515 and, leaving no male heir of his body though thrice married, was succeeded by his cousin Francis I (of Angoulême). Francis forthwith set about the recovery of Milan, invaded Italy, and at the stubbornly contested battle of Marignano (September, 1515) for the first time defeated, though he could not route, the hitherto invincible Swiss who were fighting for the duke, Maximilian Sforza. Milan opened its gates, and Milan, together with Parma and Piacenza, passed again into French possession.

FRANCIS I IN ROYAL SPLENDOR

Superficially Francis I (1494-1547), who succeeded Louis XII in 1515, was a very kingly king, with a splendid air, brave, witty and courteous. His real frivolity appeared in his addiction to gallantry and dress. This portrait was painted by Jean Clouet, shortly before the king's disaster at Pavia in 1525.

The Louvre, Paris; photo, Archives photographiques

Ferdinand died in 1516; Joanna was insane; and the boy Charles, already lord of Burgundy, succeeded to the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Sicily and Naples. Three years later the death of Maximilian gave him at the age of nineteen the rest of the heritage of the Hapsburgs. No other German prince was willing to be a candidate for the imperial crown; the kings of France and England offered themselves; but Germany preferred an untried boy who was a Hapsburg to a Valois or a Tudor; and Charles (Carlos I of Spain) became the emperor Charles V.

A GENERAL council had restored the Papacy, and the restored Papacy had scotched the "conciliar" movement and with it all prospect of that systematic reformation of which the Church was in crying need.

The fact was not immediately apparent. The scholars such as Erasmus and Thomas More conceived that ignorance was at the bottom of the trouble, and that the way to reform was through education.

What they might have effected if matters had been left in their hands for a few years longer, and a spiritually-minded pope had been raised to the pontificate, is an interesting and highly debatable question; but the fighting Julius II was followed by the cultured pagan Leo X, who was quite unaware that moral issues were at stake. And the intellectuals were thrust on one side by the explosive energy of a man for whom nothing counted except the moral

issues, whose emergence from the obscurity of a professorship at Wittenberg rent Europe into hostile religious camps for a century and a half.

The immediate occasion, which brought Luther conspicuously to the front was the official sale, on an unprecedented scale, of indulgences; the object being the replenishment of the papal treasury. According to the popular belief, which the distributors of the indulgences were at no pains to dispel, the purchase of an indulgence carried with it absolution for the sins of the purchaser. This was in 1517. Martin Luther denounced indulgences as implying that the pope had the power, possessed by none but God, to forgive sins, and he persuaded the elector of Saxony to forbid the sale in his duchy. He was denounced as a heretic, and retorted by a vigorous and uncompromising propaganda against other current doctrines and papal claims, one point in which appealed strongly to secular princes—that the customary contributions to the papal treasury were unjustifiable. There matters stood at the moment when Charles V was elected emperor in 1519.

In the east and in the far west, the same chronological line of division between the two periods may be accepted. For thirty years after the death of Mohammed the Conqueror, the Ottomans under the inactive Bajazet II made no advance either in Europe or in Asia. The Turks grew restive and the troops mutinous, until in 1512 Bajazet's energetic son Selim I took matters into his own hands, deposed his father, put all his inconveniently near relations to death, and opened a new era of conquest. He quickly brought to subjection the petty princes of Asia Minor who did not acknowledge the Ottoman sovereignty, and in 1516 flung himself upon Syria, where the Mameluke sultans of Egypt still held sway. The issue was decided by the defeat and fall of the sultan Kansuh in the fierce battle of Marg Dabik.

Selim swept on to Egypt, where the Mamelukes made a desperate stand and met with utter overthrow close to Cairo (1517). Egypt was annexed to the Ottoman dominion, though it was left practically as a tributary state in the hands of the Mamelukes. Selim's further projects of empire were cut off by his death in 1520, but they were developed mightily under his son Suleiman the Magnificent.

In India the Bahmani power in the Deccan during this period broke up into five independent states under Mahomedan rulers, the last established being Golconda in 1518. The Lodi sultans at Delhi extended their dominion over the greater part of the Ganges basin though Bengal remained independent. But beyond the northwestern passes the most picturesque and attractive of Oriental conquerors, Babar, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, was preparing for the great adventure which was to crown an abnormally adventurous career, the conquest of northern India. In the Indian Ocean the Portuguese were occupied in establishing a maritime empire, not seeking to conquer territory, but occupying naval stations for the control of the seas.

FRANCIS I LEADING A CHARGE AT THE BATTLE OF MARIGNANO

Immediately after his accession Francis I prepared for his Italian campaign and early in September, 1515, reached Marignano, ten miles from Milan, where he was confronted by the Swiss mercenaries in the service of Sforza. Battle was joined on September 13, and during the day Francis in person led his men-at-arms in a tremendous charge upon the Swiss—the incident recorded in this bas-relief on his tomb at St. Denis. Resumed at dawn on September 14, the battle ended in a French triumph.

Photo, Giraudon

Similarly, in the far west Spaniards discovered one after another of the West Indian islands, and the South American coast line; a Florentine merchant, Amerigo Vespucci, sailing on a Spanish ship, gave his name to the new continents; Pope Alexander VI, on the hypothesis that heathen lands were in the pope's gift, drew the line from north to south, bestowing all lands that had been or might be discovered to the west of it on Spain, and all to the east on Portugal. Spain and Portugal accepted the papal decision according to Treaty of Tordesillas, drawn up in 1494. English expeditions, followed by Frenchmen, away in the inhospitable north, discovered Labrador and Newfoundland, and the estuary of the St. Lawrence. In 1513 Balboa, from the neck of land that joins the north and south continents, discovered the ocean that lies between them and Asia. When Maximilian died in 1519, Hernando Cortéz was already heading the adventure which before the year was out was to achieve the conquest of Mexico. And also before the year was out Ferdinand Magellan set sail on the first voyage of circumnavigation.

SULTAN SELIM I

Bigotry, cruelty and ambition stamped Selim I (1465-1520), the conqueror of Persia, Syria and Egypt and first Ottoman khalif. This portrait of him is attributed to Haidar Bey, a sixteenth-century artist highly esteemed by the Turks.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

The Spaniards had planted themselves on the Isthmus of Darien but not elsewhere on the mainland, when Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, with a view to the conquest of Yucatan, sent an exploring expedition which traced the coast of the Gulf of Mexico in 1517. Next year he set Cortés in command of another expedition. In February, 1519, Cortés sailed, disregarding his orders, with some four hundred Europeans, half as many natives and less than a score of horses and guns. In Yucatan he learned of the existence of the Aztec empire of Mexico, for which the outlying tribes had no affection. He actually burned his boats, informed the Aztec emperor Montezuma (Montecuzoma) that he was about to visit him as the envoy of a mighty king from over the sea, and then proceeded to pay his exceedingly unwelcome visit. The strangers having accordingly been admitted, Montezuma offered submission and tribute, but declined to worship strange gods; the emperor was, in fact, a virtual prisoner, while the Spaniards assumed the government in his name. Velasquez sent an expedition to recall Cortéz, who went out to meet it, leaving behind a garrison in the capital, and ended by attaching most of it to his own force.

Meanwhile, the garrison, seeing that the great city and its immense population were in a state of ferment, and fearing an organized rising, struck first, attacking a great gathering held for a religious celebration. Thereby they brought on the very thing they had feared, and found themselves in danger of being overwhelmed by an apparently countless foe. Cortés with difficulty forced his way back. When the garrison produced their

prisoner, Montezuma, and he attempted to pacify his people, they turned their wrath upon him, and he was so roughly handled that he died. The Spaniards barely succeeded in cutting their way out and escaping to friendly territory; so small a band could not afford the losses involved in fighting swarms which seemed to be increased instead of diminished by massacre. But Cortés received some reinforcements, collected native auxiliaries, and when he returned found a resistance which, though at first stubborn, could not long be maintained. In 1521 he had recovered the capital, and could set about a reconstruction of the government and the persistent extension of the Spanish dominion. Mexico became the center from which it expanded on the north of Darien.

CORTES' VICTORY AT MICHUACAN

One of the fiercest battles fought by Cortés in Mexico was with the natives of Michuacan, near the Pacific seaboard, in which he was assisted by the Tlaxcalans with their war dogs. Native treachery led to the engagement, typified, in this old Mexican painting of the battle, by the Indian hanged in the background.

MEANWHILE the existence of a second large and civilized empire in the western equatorial area was sufficiently confirmed to excite the adventurous and acquisitive spirit of Francisco Pizarro. Having obtained the necessary authority and funds, he started on his expedition by sea from Panamá in 1530, made his base at Tumbez, near the westernmost point of the continent, and, having learned that there was civil war between the Inca brothers Huascar and Atahualpa, marched to the conquest of the Inca Empire at the head of one hundred and sixty-eight men. The advance of so tiny a force did not seriously alarm Atahualpa, who had usurped the throne; but Pizarro found him waiting near Cajamarca with some forty thousand men, and quite disposed to be friendly. The Spaniard invited the Inca to a conference at which he was surprised and kidnaped; the army which attempted to rescue him was routed with great slaughter, being little better than an undisciplined and unarmed mob.

After the Mexican precedent Pizarro proceeded to act "under the authority" of his prisoner, who only excited the cupidity of his captors by offering a vast ransom for liberty. Atahualpa was put to death and a puppet set in his place for a short time; but even the pretense that the Spaniards were acting under any other authority than their rights as conquerors was very soon dropped. Few though the Spaniards were, they had the natives completely at their mercy, and Lima, which the conquerors made headquarters, became the center from which they extended their conquests.

Europe was flooded with tales of a great city of fabulous wealth wherein was reported to dwell the Man of Gold, El Dorado; so that the discovery of "El Dorado" became the fantastic dream and the irresistible magnet of innumerable adventurers. No one, however, as yet challenged Spain's title to keep the new world to herself, though she paid no heed to what went on north of Florida, discovered and claimed for Spain in 1513

by Ponce de Leon in the course of his quest for a mythical "fountain of youth." In 1527 Navarez began the exploration of the Gulf of Mexico, an enterprise carried out more thoroughly from 1539-42 by Ferdinand De Soto, one of Pizarro's soldiers in the Peruvian wars. Where there were no precious metals, the cod banks of Newfoundland and the search for a northwest passage to Asia were providing for English and French mariners a stormy school of seamanship which was soon to make them infinitely the superiors of the Spaniards.

In the Far East the Portuguese came into touch with China and even for a moment with the Japanese, to whom they introduced the use and manufacture of firearms. The effect of the contact with China was so unsatisfactory, owing mainly to the misconduct of the Portuguese, that China shut her doors to the Europeans, and the great missionary François Xavier the Apostle of the Indies, who had prosecuted his labors in Japan for more than two years, was refused admission. The great feature of Oriental history while the emperor Charles V was reigning in the west was the founding of the Mogul empire in India.

CONQUEROR OF MEXICO

Daring and determination enabled Hernando Cortés (1485-1547) to win for Spain the vast Aztec Empire in Mexico. His immense services to his country were repaid with rank ingratitude and he died a disappointed man.

Municipal Palace, Mexico; from Maudslay, "Conquest of New Spain," Hakluyt Society

CONQUEROR OF PERU

Francisco Pizarro (born c. 1475) embarked in 1530 upon the conquest of Peru, which he had been planning for some years. Treachery and brutality stained the conqueror's career, which was ended by his own assassination in 1541.

After a painting in Lima Museum

At the close of the fifteenth century central Asia was broken up into many principalities, several being in the hands of descendants of Tamerlane. In 1494, in his twelfth year, Babar succeeded his father as king of Ferghana. By the time he was twenty he had twice won and twice lost Samarkand, the recovery of which was the unfulfilled dream of his life. Driven out of Transoxiana by the Tatar conqueror Shaibani, the young adventurer made his way with many hairbreadth escapes to Afghanistan, where a cousin had been deposed by a usurper, collected a few daring adherents and made himself king at Kabul and master of most of Afghanistan.

In 1519 he made his first expedition across the Indus with a force of some

two thousand men, laying claim to the Punjab as being a part of the heritage of Tamerlane. Nothing came of this. For the next five years he was mainly occupied in consolidating his position in Afghanistan, though he found time for two raiding expeditions. But in 1524 he found his opportunity in a double appeal from an exiled prince of the house of Lodi and from the governor of the Punjab, who was in revolt against Ibrahim, the reigning sovereign at Delhi.

The defection, however, of his Indian allies after he started caused some delay, and it was not until the end of 1525 that he made his invasion in force—that is, at the head of twelve thousand men, Turks, Afghans and Mongols. He got some reinforcements from rebels against Ibrahim, whose army he shattered at Panipat, the field of several decisive engagements in Indian history, in 1526. That made him master of Delhi and of enormous wealth, which he gave away lavishly. By the end of 1530 he was practically master of the land from Kabul to the Bay of Bengal. Then he died—as he and everyone about him believed by a magnificent act of self-sacrifice; for his best-beloved son and heir, Humayun, was apparently on the point of death, and the father prayed that his own life might be taken in the place of his son's. In the plenitude of his powers, at the age of forty-eight, the great conqueror fell ill and died, but Humayun was restored to health.

Humayun was driven out again within ten years by an Afghan adventurer of great ability, Sher Shah, who established himself in Bihar and proved himself, in a reign of no more than five years, to be a ruler and administrator, as well as a soldier, of a very high order. Humayun, at the end of fifteen years of exile, in the course of which he experienced every vicissitude of fortune, was able to return and renew the fight for the empire of India in 1555. Sher Shah was dead, his successors lacked his ability, and Humayun recaptured Delhi. But seven months later, in January, 1556, he was killed by an accidental fall, and the loyalty of his soldier minister Bairam secured the accession to his thirteen-year-old son, the famous Akbar, the builder of the Mogul empire.

CHARLES V was elected emperor in the year of Babar's first Indian expedition; he resigned Burgundy to his son Philip II three months before Akbar's accession at Delhi. The period, of which he was throughout one of the principal figures, is one of the most momentous in European history. Nor was there any man who had a task before him more complicated than his.

The French rivalry was what he felt as his most immediate concern. Wolsey

INCA WARRIORS OF THE TYPE THAT PIZARRO OVERCAME

Pachacutec, meaning "he who changes the world," was the name conferred upon the Inca Yupanqui who in the fifteenth century converted the Cuzco kingdom into the vast Inca empire extending to the Pacific which Pizarro found established when he first reached Peru in 1527. Government administration was elaborately organized and the army was efficient and well equipped. An old Peruvian vase-painting includes these figures of Inca warriors of the period shortly before the Spanish conquest.

From Stübel and Reis, "Das Todtenfeld von Anco in Peru"

in England was eager for the rôle of arbiter of Europe, holding the balance between the Hapsburgs and the Valois, but suffered from the fact that his most skillfully laid plans might be thwarted by the capricious impulses of a master whom he dared not cross. In Italy both Pope Leo and Venice were more afraid of French than of imperial aggression; and, in spite of the splendid extravagances of the famous meeting between the two kings known as the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520), the emperor drew England into an anti-French league.

The war proved disastrous to Francis, though England's share in it was never more than half-hearted. The real arena was in Italy, where in 1525 Francis met with a crushing defeat at Pavia and was taken prisoner. The unlooked-for completeness of Charles' success alarmed his allies, who now entered on a new league for the expulsion of the emperor from Italy; but his successes continued; in 1527 his troops stormed and sacked Rome itself, and he was able to dictate a peace by which Francis had to confirm the promises made after Pavia, and Pope Clement VII, cousin and second successor of Leo X, found himself little more than a puppet.

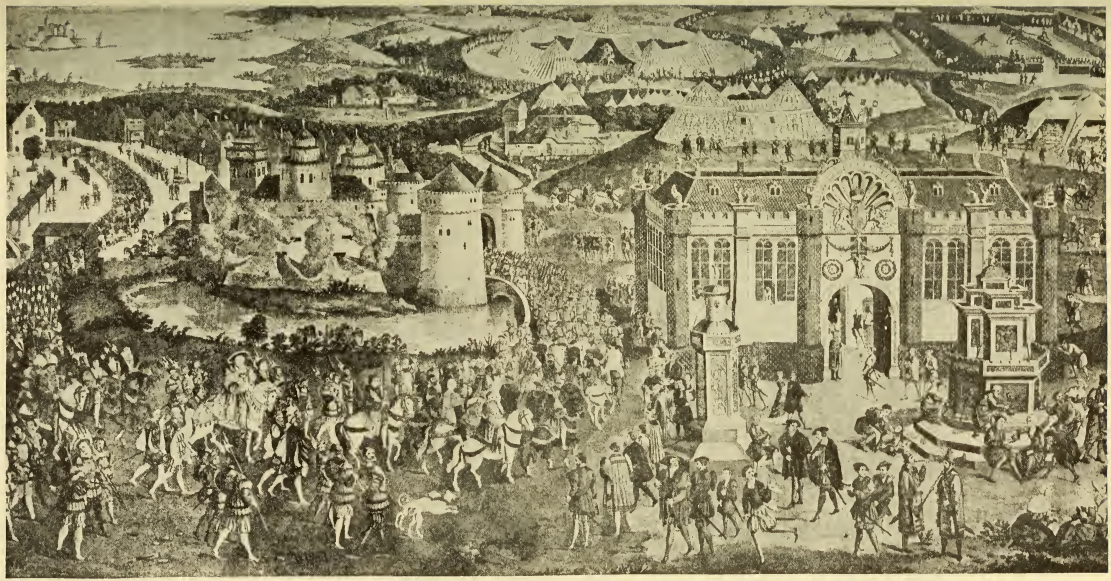
AN AMIABLE MOGUL EMPEROR

Humayun (1508-1556) succeeded his father Babar as Mogul emperor of Delhi in 1530. Though gallant and amiable he had a certain weakness of character well suggested in this portrait painted by Bhagvati, an Indian artist of the sixteenth century, depicting him listening to two Hajjis reciting the scriptures.

British Museum

Meanwhile, however, the religious revolution had been very thoroughly inaugurated. Luther had burned his boats. Made uneasy by the vigor of his propaganda, Leo X, in 1520, excommunicated the Wittenberg professor, who replied by publicly burning the bull of excommunication. The pope could inflict no further penalty directly, but a diet of the empire was about to be held, and the young emperor was willing to oblige; so Martin Luther was summoned to defend himself before it.

He appeared at the Diet of Worms under a safe-conduct, like Huss at Constance, but also under the protection of the elector of Saxony, who had no mind to allow him to suffer the fate of Huss; and he had powerful support from other lay princes of the empire, from practically the whole body of the knights, and from wide-spread public opinion. Luther refused to recant unless convinced of error. Being, on the contrary, convinced that his denounced doctrines were true, it followed that those who denounced them were in error.



ROYAL POMP AND PAGEANTRY AT THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD

This picture representing Henry VIII on his way to meet Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in June, 1520, was painted, probably by John Crust, shortly after the event it commemorates, and reproduces actual details with minute accuracy. On the left in the English procession is King Henry on a white horse, Wolsey beside him and the marquis of Dorset in front bearing the sword of state. On the right is the temporary palace erected for Henry's reception, with two fountains spouting wine in front of it, and behind are the lists, kitchen tent and some of the 2,800 tents erected for the kings' retinues.

Engraving after the painting in Hampton Court Palace

The diet had other work before it. Luther, taking his departure, was kidnaped for his safety by his friend the Saxon elector, and hidden away in the Wartburg in Thuringia. When the diet had begun to disperse, and some of

VICTIM OF OVERWEENING AMBITION

"In the time of his authority and power the haughtiest man that then lived" was his loyal servant George Cavendish's verdict upon Thomas Wolsey (c. 1475-1530). It is endorsed in this portrait of the cardinal by an unknown artist.

National Portrait Gallery, London

Luther's supporters had left, the other party carried a decree putting him to the ban of the empire, but no one was prepared to start a civil war in order to execute it. Charles was too deeply involved in his war with Francis to risk the stirring up of trouble in Germany. Pope Leo died at the end of the year; Charles procured the election of the Burgundian Adrian VI; Adrian died in 1523 and was succeeded by the Medici Clement VII.

The German knights, mainly supporters of Luther, headed by Ulrich von Hutten and Franz von Sickingen, raised what was intended to be a national revolt against the political domination of the princes and foreign influences generally; but they got no encouragement from Luther and they were crushed in the same year. Fanatical reformers, who, as so often happens, associated the destruction of the existing social order with their religious doctrines, stirred up a great revolt of the German peasantry, who suffered under a crushing serfdom, and that revolt, too, was trampled out in blood (1525), while Luther vainly denounced the revolutionists.

Just at this stage the accord between pope and emperor was broken. Confident that his attitude would now be anti-papal, the imperial diet at Speier in 1526 in Charles' absence decreed in effect that each prince should control the religion of his own subjects in his own territory, with the result that electoral Saxony, Hesse, Brandenburg and other principalities adopted the Lutheran principles, thus inaugurating the religious division of Germany.

At the beginning of 1529, however, Charles and Clement had come to terms, and another diet at Speier, under the imperial influence, revoked the decree and returned to that of Worms; while a number of Lutheran princes and cities united to sign the protest from which the reforming movement took the name of Protestant. At the Diet of Augsburg next year, when Charles presided in person, the Protestants produced the Augsburg confession of faith, and made it clear that they would abide by it, and that coercion would mean civil war. At the end of the year (1530) they formed the defensive league of Schmalkalde. Charles could not take that risk. He was master in Italy, but the Turks were advancing on Vienna, and must be met. For a time there was a truce in Germany, but it was an armed truce which might at any moment become war.

In Switzerland, nominally within the Empire but practically outside it, the reforming movement was led by Zwingli of Zürich, quite independently of Luther, from whose views his own differed materially, though they were no less irrecon-

cilable with papal theories. The Swiss and Lutheran schools of Protestantism continued to be hardly less hotly antagonistic to each other than both were to Rome.

From 1529 onwards Henry had reasons of his own for defying and repudiating the authority of the pope, who had his own reasons for evading the English king's desire to be released from his marriage with Katherine of Aragon, the aunt of the emperor.

When Henry had made up his mind to a decisive breach with Rome, the weight of England was necessarily cast on the side of Protestantism. And the French government, while it repressed Protestantism in France, was always ready for alliance with Protestants outside France, in order to embarrass Charles.

FREDERICK III, "THE WISE"

Succeeding his father as elector of Saxony in 1486, Frederick III (1463-1525) was an enlightened statesman and intellectual man. In 1502 he founded the university of Wittenberg, where he appointed Luther and Melanchthon professors, and thereafter remained Luther's steadfast champion.

Pinakothek, Munich

CAPTURE OF FRANCIS I AT PAVIA

Francis I's defeat and capture at the battle of Pavia, February 25, 1525, are thus depicted in a copper engraving by Matthew Merian, the seventeenth-century Swiss engraver, based upon an earlier original and contributed to Gottfried's Historical Chronicle—a work brought down to the year 1618.

British Museum

In Germany the North German princes tended to the Protestant side, the South Germans to the papal side. Consequently Protestant influences prevailed also in the Scandinavian countries, which were undergoing revolutions. In 1520 the crowns of all the three kingdoms—Danish, Swedish and Norwegian—were worn by Christian II, who was determined to rule as well as to reign in all of them. In that year he crushed the independence of the Swedish nobles, following up

CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED

A wealthy German knight with a congenital love of fighting, Franz von Sickingen (1481-1523) engaged in many feuds, usually on behalf of the oppressed. His militant championship of the early Reformers was discouraged by Luther.

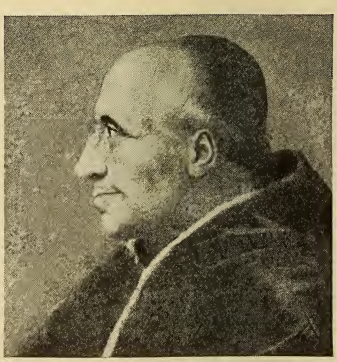
From Bechstein, "Deutsche Männer"

his victory by a massacre known as the "blood-bath of Stockholm." His savagery caused a reaction. Gustavus Vasa, who had escaped the massacre, raised a revolt against the hated Danish domination, and at the same time the Danish nobles rose and expelled Christian from Denmark. The Swedes elected Gustavus king, and the Danes elected Frederick of Slesvig-Holstein. The two crowns were separated permanently by the treaty of Calmoe (1524), though Norway and the southern province of Skania went with Denmark.

Frederick introduced without enforcing the Lutheran teaching, and Lutheranism became the established religion of Denmark in the reign of his son Christian III. Gustavus, in dire need of money to be expended in setting Sweden on her feet again, resolved, like Henry VIII in England that the Church must disgorge her wealth, adherence to the new doctrines being the inevitable corollary. Lutheranism soon became the national religion of Sweden. When Gustavus died in 1560, he had revived the national prosperity, consolidated the kingdom, and firmly established the power of the crown, which was made hereditary in 1544.

In 1521 Charles handed over his Austrian heritage to his brother the archduke Ferdinand, who married the sister of Lewis, the Jagellon king of Bohemia and Hungary. Suleiman, later to be known as "the Magnificent," succeeded his father, Selim I, as Grand Turk in 1520. He at once set out on a career of aggression. He forced the Knights of S. John to abandon the Christian outpost at Rhodes and fall back to Malta; his fleets swept the eastern Mediterranean under the great corsair captain Khair ed-Din Barbarossa. In 1521 he captured Belgrade and Lewis of Hungary, advancing against him, was overwhelmed and slain at the battle of Mohacz in 1526.

On the death of Lewis, his brother-in-law Ferdinand advanced and made good his claim to the succession in Bohemia and Hungary; but the latter country had always been restive under Hapsburg sovereigns, and a portion of it now adhered to a Magyar noble, John Zapolya, who did not scruple to accept Turkish support against his rival. Nor did the Turk



POPE ADRIAN VI

Adrian Dedel (1459-1523) had a distinguished career at Louvain university and in 1507 became tutor to Charles V, who later appointed him inquisitor-general of Aragon. His election to the Papacy in 1522 was largely due to Charles.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari

scruple to keep a large part of the disputed territory in his own hands, so that Hungary was divided under three sovereigns. But from this time the Ottoman advance was an ever-present menace, though it served to postpone open civil war in the Empire.

The Mediterranean was infested with corsairs from the African ports, encouraged by Khair ed-Din, who seized Tunis from its independent ruler and held it himself as from the sultan. In 1535 Charles attacked and defeated Khair ed-Din in a great sea fight, and restored the former prince as his own vassal. Francis found an excuse for repudiating the last treaty, renewing his claim on Milan, and scandalizing Christendom by an alliance with Suleiman against the emperor. Charles invaded Provence, where he was starved out by the French commander Montmorency, and had to retire with diminished prestige.

In 1538 a ten years' truce was arranged by Pope Clement's successor, Paul III. Charles utilized the interval for the suppression of the still inconveniently powerful national assembly or Cortes of Castile, and, with Francis' concurrence, of revolts in the Netherlands; but the hostility of Francis was revived by his repudiation of the half-promises he had given. In 1541 Charles sailed with a great fleet to root out the Algerian pirates, but most of his fleet went to the bottom in a terrific storm. Francis renewed his alliance with Suleiman, and again found an excuse for declaring war in 1542. In the campaigning fortune on the whole favored Charles, but in 1544 he offered peace (the Treaty of Crespy) on unexpectedly favorable terms. In 1547 Henry VIII and Francis died, and Charles alone was left of the three princes who had swayed Europe since 1519.

ATTACK ON ALGIERS, THE PIRATES' LAIR

Algiers became the chief seat of the Barbary pirates about 1530 and so remained for three hundred years. In October, 1541, Charles V attempted to capture the town, but his fleet was destroyed by storm and his army by the Algerians. A German broadsheet of 1542 contains this woodcut of the attack.

From O. Jäger, "Weltgeschichte," Velhagen & Klasing

Meanwhile, other developments were in progress which vitally affected the course of the Reformation. The motives at work were exceedingly mixed. The genuine desire to arrive at a convincing body of religious truth was widespread. Dissatisfaction with a system under which the teachers of religion were manifestly absorbed more often in the pursuit of political than of spiritual aims, the very unspiritual character of so many successive popes, the glaring examples of moral depravity among the higher clergy reflected in their lower ranks, the frequent abuse for debased and debasing purposes of doctrines and practices in themselves defensible, the tendency to maintain ecclesiastical authority by checking inquiry and criticism—all these things were reprobated by the most orthodox, and cried aloud for reform; reform desired no less zealously by those who believed it to be attainable without repudiation of the papal authority in things spiritual than by

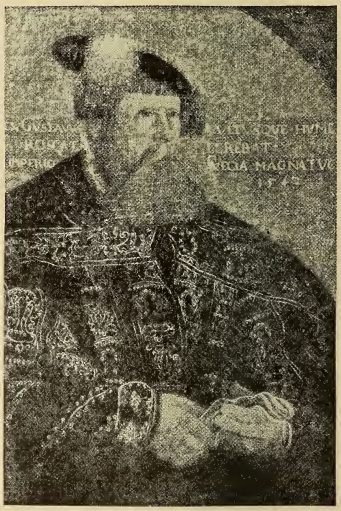
CHRISTIAN II IN 1517

Succeeding to the thrones of Denmark and Norway in 1513 Christian II (1481-1559) also recovered the crown of Sweden by force of arms, but his ruthless autocracy alienated all his subjects and in 1523 he was driven out.

Royal Gallery, Copenhagen

those who were as firmly convinced of the contrary being the case.

On the other hand, they aroused an anti-clerical spirit; the laity at all times resented the wealth of the Church, of which the expropriation offered a tempting bait to impecunious princes and nobles; and from time immemorial princes had fought against the division of clerical allegiance between the secular ruler and the foreign head of an international organization; though not a few dreaded that rejection of the recognized spiritual authority would be only the preliminary to the defiance of all constituted authority whatever, a view to which the German peasant revolt gave some color. That revolt had been suppressed, though the fanatical extremists, under the name of Anabaptists, still found adherents, mainly among the down-trodden. But two serious movements began to make themselves felt, one among the Protestants in revolt from Rome, the other among the most earnest opponents of the new doctrines. The Zürich reformers had never been in harmony with the Lutherans; but under the leadership of a French refugee, John Calvin, a new school grew up at Geneva whose tenets were even more irreconcilable than Zwingli's with those of Rome and of Luther alike. The special characteristics of the Calvinistic theology do not here concern us; they turned mainly on his peculiar doctrine regarding predestination; but Calvin laid down and published in 1536 the scheme of church government known to us as Presbyterianism, which dispensed with bishops, and was so democratic in structure—though its effect in Geneva was to make Calvin himself a dictator—that it was difficult for any lay prince to reconcile himself with it. And it was to Calvin, not to Luther, that the reformers turned in France (where they were known as Huguenots),



LIBERATOR OF SWEDEN

After the Blood Bath of Stockholm in 1520, Gustavus Eriksson Vasa (1406-1560) roused the Swedes to revolt, expelled the Danes and in 1523 was himself crowned king, first of the Vasa dynasty. This portrait was painted in 1542.

University Library, Upsala

as did the reformers in Scotland, the Netherlands and in some parts of Germany.

Order of Jesus Constituted

On the other side a missionary brotherhood was formed at about the same time—destined to play an immense part in the religious struggles of the next hundred and fifty years—by the visionary enthusiasm of the Spaniard Ignatius Loyola. His conception was that of a company formed on the military model, which was to fight for the Church, but with the arm of the spirit, not of the flesh. The first company was formed in 1534 of a band of seven enthusiasts, to one of whom at least, François Xavier, the title of Saint is entirely appropriate; it increased, and in 1540 the "Society of Jesus," popularly known as the Jesuits, was formally constituted with the recognition of the pope,

Paul III, by the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiæ*, September 27.

Christendom did not yet recognize that it was split into irreconcilable parties which must either agree to live side by side or fight for the complete supremacy, which neither would concede to the other. There was a general desire, except on the part of the pope, for a general council whose authoritative decrees should be final binding pronouncements on all questions in dispute. But everyone wished to ensure that his own views should predominate, especially Charles, whose understanding of the religious sentiments involved was limited, while his desire was to dictate a compromise acceptable to no one. Consequently it was not till 1545 that a council was summoned at Trent. Even then it had hardly met when Paul and Charles quarreled, since the pope was as much afraid of an imperial supremacy as he was hostile to the Protestants. Charles, having just freed himself from the French war, was about to embark on the Schmalkaldic war against the German Protestant league, and the vicissitudes of that struggle materially affected the proceedings of the council during the reigns of Paul and his successor, Julius III (1550-55).

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY RHODES

Rhodes fell to the Turks in 1522. Its strength is shown in these woodcuts, published a few years earlier, of the unsuccessful Turkish assault of 1480 on the harbor and (above) on the walls.

From Caorsini, "Stabilimenta Rhodiorum Militium," 1496

PICTURE OF CARE-WORN MAJESTY

This portrait of Charles V was painted by Titian in 1548, the year the emperor issued the unsatisfactory "Interim" and attempted an abortive reconstruction of the imperial constitution. The tired face and sad eyes in the picture reflect the weariness and disillusionment which presently confirmed the emperor in his intention to abdicate.

Pinakothek, Munich

establishing at last the imperial supremacy; and he believed that the suppression of the League of Schmalkalde would remove the most serious obstacle to both projects. He declared war on the League, shattered its forces at Mühlberg (1547), capturing its leaders, whom he treated with inexcusable severity, and apparently had the ball at his feet. But he overrated his triumph. He concocted on his own responsibility and maneuvered through the diet at Augsburg (1548) a religious compromise known as the Interim, which accentuated antagonisms instead of allaying them; and he imposed upon the paralyzed diet a reconstruction of the imperial constitution which practically placed control of the whole executive power in the hands of the emperor.

But this was the last result desired by the princes who had supported him, or by Maurice of Saxony, to whom he owed his victory at Mühlberg. Maurice promptly and secretly organized revolt, allying himself with Henry II, who had succeeded Francis on the French throne. In return for Henry's assistance against the emperor, the administration of certain important cities in Lorraine was to be conferred on him as imperial vicar. While Charles still supposed Maurice to be engaged in suppressing resistance to the Interim, in 1552 he suddenly marched his troops to Innsbruck, from which the hitherto unsuspecting emperor barely had time

"The Interim" and Its Consequences

LUTHER, whose influence had always been strongly cast against a settlement by force, died at the beginning of 1546. Charles was bent on uniting Germany—a most laudable object—by enforcing a religious compromise, and on

to escape. Maurice brought down Charles' edifice of power like a house of cards. Charles was reduced to entrusting his brother Ferdinand, whom he had offended by attempting to oust him from the imperial succession, with the task of making the best terms he could at the treaty of Passau. And meanwhile French troops had occupied the promised cities, and being there could by no means be ejected. Metz, Toul, Verdun and Cambrai had virtually become a part of France.

Maurice's success caused the hasty adjournment of the Council of Trent, which so far had accomplished nothing towards a pacification. The Protestants who attended found themselves treated rather as prisoners at the bar than colleagues on the bench; and it had already become evident that the validity of its decisions as a general council of the Church would never be admitted by the Protestant minority.

Charles was beaten, though Maurice was killed in the disturbed fighting which followed on the breakdown of the imperial authority. A general pacification of Germany was effected by the diet held at Augsburg (1555), under the guidance of Ferdinand. It confirmed the treaty of Passau; it confirmed to the princes the right of controlling religion within their own territories; it reinstated in the imperial council the Lutherans whom Charles in the hour of his triumph had excluded. But it made no mention of Calvinists and it retained what was called the "ecclesiastical reservation," which required Catholic ecclesiastical princes to resign their sees if they changed their religion—with disastrous results in the future.

Charles had failed to secure German support for his desire to be succeeded in the imperial dignity by his son Philip, who in German eyes was a Spaniard. Towards the end of 1555 he handed over the Netherlands and Italy to Philip and at the beginning of 1556 announced his abdication of the imperial crown, recommending as his successor his brother Ferdinand of Austria who had already long been king of the Romans.

In 1555 also Cardinal Caraffa, the organizer and head of the Inquisition in Italy, was elected pope as Paul IV. His accession, with the Pacification of Augsburg and the abdication of Charles V, together provide a definite landmark in the European chronicle.

THE EXPANSION OF EUROPE

By HARRY ELMER BARNES, Ph.D.

Author of "The History of Western Civilization."

WE HAVE seen the geographic setting of Oriental civilization started with a fluvial basis and gradually emerged into a thalassic or Mediterranean stage. Similarly, the history of western Europe began with a Mediterranean orientation and ultimately evolved into a world outlook and an oceanic scope of activities. From the decline of the Roman Empire until the discovery of America, civilization moved slowly but steadily toward the west and north.

In laying the foundation for this westward movement of European society the Roman occupation of Gaul, following the invasions of Julius Caesar, was of the utmost significance. The superiority of the Orient in material culture always exerted a strong magnetic force drawing the center of the Roman Empire eastward. This influence became so powerful that, early in the fourth century A.D., Constantine moved his capital to the shores of the Black Sea. The conquest of Gaul, and its subsequent development under Roman control, had acted as a counterbalance to this eastward attraction. Otherwise the West would, perhaps, gradually have abandoned civilization and reverted to a barbarism from which it would not even yet have emerged. Gaul not only helped to draw the balance of culture towards the west, but also furnished the Germanic tribes with much of the institutional basis of medieval life. It was in Gaul more than in Italy that classical culture merged with Teutonic barbarism to furnish the institutional groundwork of medieval civilization.

With the gradual return of prosperity in western Europe in the later Middle Ages, due to the revival of trade with the East, the seaboard states became jealous of the Italian monopoly of Oriental trade, and sought direct contact through oversea discoveries with the sources of Oriental commodities. The mariner's compass, devised some time in the later Middle Ages, permitted the actual realization of this ambition. By the close of the fifteenth century mankind emerged into the last or world-stage of history. As the late Professor William R. Shepherd and others have clearly demonstrated, the expansion of Europe overseas and the reaction of this expansion upon European culture and world society is the master key to the complicated processes of early modern history. Fewer and fewer historians today look for the origins of the modern age in the Renaissance or the Reformation.

Contact of Cultures

HISTORIANS and anthropologists have long recognized that the contact of cultures is far and away the most potent force in breaking down cultural inertia and provincialism—in other words, it is the most dynamic factor in human history. This all-important progressive force manifested itself during the Crusades, and persisted as an important factor in European history from that time onward. Its most striking effects resulted from the successful voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama. The analysis of this set of influences—the work of historians from Guillaume Raynal to W. R. Shepherd—has probably been the most important contribution which historians made towards elucidating the origins of modern society.

One of the leading aspects of European civilization during the Dark Ages was its provincialism and its ignorance of foreign cultures and learning. Intellectually speaking, it was an inbred age, and this accounted in part for its relative stagnation. There was some intercontinental commerce and travel, but it was comparatively slight. Each nation, each com-

munity even, was sufficient unto itself.

The Crusades provided the first important impulse to expansion and growth. They brought the relatively backward peoples of western Europe into contact with the higher civilization of the Eastern or Byzantine Empire and with the amazing culture of the Muslims. Curiosity was aroused and many phases of Muslim civilization were brought back to Europe, as was indicated in an earlier chapter. The curtain was rolled back and western Europe was never again permitted to slumber contentedly in its own ignorance and routine. Merchants who transported soldiers to the Levant used their spare time to develop trading relations with Eastern races. Commerce revived on a large scale, medieval towns sprang up, and a new dynamic element appeared in European civilization which powerfully stimulated that remarkable development of thought and culture following the middle of the twelfth century which has already been surveyed.

The rich and varied products brought from the East—spices, precious metals, perfume, fine woods, tapestry, and the like—together with legendary accounts of the fabulous wealth of these distant lands—drew brave and adventurous men towards them. Distances were great and modes of travel slow and risky, but some intrepid spirits reached the far Orient, and returned with accounts of incredible riches and strange customs.

Travellers to the East

In the century following 1250 a number of men penetrated to the centers of Oriental splendor. Some were sent as missionaries. Others were dispatched as political emissaries. Others traveled out of sheer curiosity or adventure. John of Piano Carpini, an Italian monk, was sent to the Mongols by Pope Innocent IV in 1243. William of Rubruquis, a Franciscan, was sent to Tartary by Louis IX of France in 1253. John of Monte Corvino (1247-1328), a Franciscan, attained the honor of becoming Archbishop of Peking. Jordanus, a French missionary, journeyed to India in 1329 and greatly extended our knowledge of that area. Oderic of Pordenone, a friar, traveled widely in China and India. The most extensive traveler of them all was a Muslim, Ibn Battuta (1304-1378), who covered about 75,000 miles in Africa and left fairly accurate accounts of his experiences. The most famous of travelers was Marco Polo (1253-1324), who, between 1271 and 1292, explored China, India, and Persia. Thrown into prison after he returned, he had time to dictate to a fellow prisoner of marked literary talents an elaborate account of his varied and thrilling experiences. This work—the classic *Travels of Marco Polo*—has made him deservedly immortal. Professors Yule and Beazley thus briefly and graphically describe the significance of his achievements:

> Polo was the first traveler to trace a route across the whole longitude of Asia, naming and describing kingdom after kingdom which he had seen; the first to speak of the new and brilliant court which had been established at Peking, the first to reveal China in all its wealth and vastness, and to tell of the nations on its borders; the first to tell more of Tibet than its name, to speak of Burma, of Laos, of Siam, of Cochin-China, of Japan, of Java, of Sumatra and other islands of the Archipelago, of Nicobar and the Andaman Islands, of Ceylon and its sacred peak, of India as a country seen and partially explored; the first in medieval times to give any distinct account of the secluded Christian Empire of Abyssinia, and of the semi-Christian island of Sokotra, and to speak, however dimly, of Zanzibar, and of the vast and distant Madagascar; while he carries us also to the remotely opposite region of Siberia and the Artic shores, to speak of dog sledges, white bears and reindeer-riding Tunguses.[1]

Interest in the Orient was enormously increased by a fictitious but thrilling romantic tale entitled *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*. Mandeville was a pseudonym. The author based his story on the accounts of medieval encyclopedists, especially Oderic of Pordenone and William of Boldensele, although it is possible he himself had visited parts of the Near East. The book first appeared in French between 1357 and 1371 and was later translated into Latin and English. It had a great vogue and did much to direct the attention of Europeans to the wealth, splendor, and novelty of the Orient.

While these travelers were arousing the curiosity of the reading classes of Europe regarding the wonders of the East, the

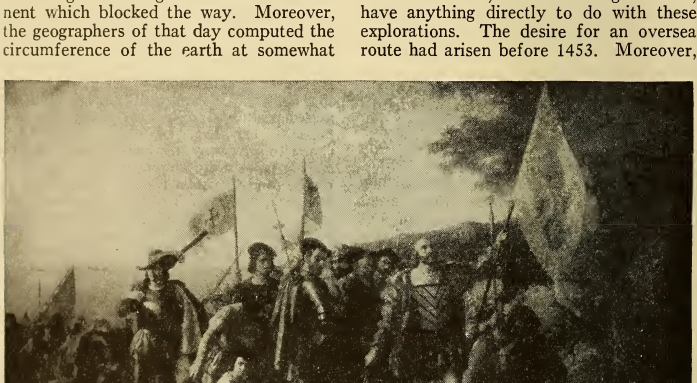
[1] Article "Marco Polo," Encyclopedia Britannica, eleventh edition.

Italian city-states were carrying on a large and profitable trade with the Orient. Merchants in western and northern Europe were unable to get into satisfactory direct contact with the East because the Italians had a monopoly of Mediterranean commerce. To the former fell only the small profits from the retail trade in commodities brought from the East by Italians. Some direct commerce with the East was maintained by way of Russia.

The Ocean Route is Opened

THE Italian monopoly stimulated merchants of northern and western Europe to think of new routes to the Far East. The best geographical students had long believed that the earth is round. This suggested the possibility of reaching the Orient by sailing west. There was no knowledge of the great American continent which blocked the way. Moreover, the geographers of that day computed the circumference of the earth at somewhat less than half the reality. Therefore, Japan was located by them at about the actual position of Yucatan. Others believed that the Orient could be reached by sailing around the Cape of Good Hope and turning northeast to India. In the middle of the fifteenth century sailors began to skirt the west coast of Africa. Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1486, and in May, 1498, Vasco da Gama reached Calicut on the coast of India. In the meantime Columbus had attempted the direct westward journey and touched San Salvador in the Bahamas in October, 1492. Finally, in the first quarter of the next century, Magellan circumnavigated the globe and proved the accuracy of the the belief that the Orient could be found by sailing westward.

The Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453 did not, as was so long believed, have anything directly to do with these explorations. The desire for an oversea route had arisen before 1453. Moreover,



THE FIRST LANDING OF COLUMBUS IN THE NEW WORLD
OCTOBER 12, 1492

The colorful scene depicted in the original painting in the rotunda of the capitol at Washington, D. C. shows the romantic figure of Columbus planting the flag of Spain on the soil of the New World. Surrounded by his captains bearing the flags of Ferdinand and Isabella, he raises his bared head in thankfulness for a safe journey. Far out in the bay, his three tiny ships are to be seen. European expansion into the New World began with this first voyage of Columbus.

© *Ewing Galloway*

the Red Sea route was not closed by the Turks until a generation after Columbus. Further, Professor A. H. Lybyer has shown that there is no evidence from trade statistics that the Turks seriously interfered with overland European trade from the Orient which passed through their territories. Therefore, there appears to be no basis for the old belief that the Turks closed the land routes to the Far East after 1453 and thus forced Europe to seek an ocean passage to the Indies.

Inventions in navigation and improvements in shipbuilding mentioned in other chapters represent the chief technical advances of the age that were related directly to exploration, industry, and commerce. The expansion of Europe and the commercial revolution depended as much upon these inventions as the industrial revolution depended upon textile machinery, steam power, and metallurgical improvements. The mariner's compass is first referred to in the late medieval period, and was progressively improved before it came into extensive use in the fifteenth century. The quadrant, sextant, telescope, chronometer, and other nautical instruments, devised between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries, enabled mariners to find their way at sea with far greater safety and certainty and made extensive ocean travel possible. To these basic instruments should be added the provision of maps, charts, and astronomical tables, indispensable to the sailor. Important also was the discovery of the distillation of water at sea to make ocean water drinkable. Larger and more seaworthy vessels were also constructed. These could withstand the shock of oceanic storms and facilitated the transportation of large cargoes over long distances. The remarkable expansion of commerce brought about by new modes of navigation enormously increased the demand for manufactured commodities. Hence, they greatly hastened the introduction of mechanical methods of manufacturing, and, ultimately, produced the industrial revolution.

Economic Transformations

OVERSEAS explorations greatly widened European markets. There was an increased demand for European commodities by natives and colonists in the New World, particularly for cotton cloth, and, to a lesser extent, for woolen and worsted cloth. There also developed a considerable trade in various types of hardware used by the colonists, as well as in trinkets used for trade with the natives and in firearms. The marked extension of commerce likewise stimulated the shipbuilding industry to a remarkable degree. The fishing industry also considerably expanded, particularly through the sale of salt fish to colonists and natives in tropical areas.

Commercial transformations were even more profound and varied than industrial changes. Indeed, this age is now known to economic historians as that of the "Commercial Revolution." Trade increased notably not only in net volume, but also in geographical scope. Commerce ceased to be thalassic (coastwise) and became oceanic. The center of commercial activity, which had been located in the Mediterranean Sea for nearly five thousand years, shifted to the vast ocean front of western and northwestern Europe.

The greatly increased extent and variety of trade necessitated new forms of commercial organization. The new commerce presented greater dangers and involved greater expenditures. Hence, we encounter many new regulated companies, which developed very quickly, and some joint-stock organizations, which became prominent after 1500. Among the more important of these new commercial companies were: the Muscovy company, established in 1555; the Turkey-Levant company, 1581; the Morocco company, 1585; the Guinea company, 1588; the English East India company, 1600; the Dutch East India Company, 1602; the Company of New France, 1628. Such organizations represented a more extensive coöperative business activity than had hitherto existed in any field of economic life in man's history. They furnished the training, precedents, and embryonic forms of organization for the extensive development of commercial and industrial combinations which followed the industrial revolution.

With the greater demand for capital and the development of more extensive investments there arose a need for better means of providing credit. The medieval limitations on interest-taking rapidly disappeared. Banks as large institutions for

assembling capital and providing credit became more numerous and powerful with the progress of the commercial revolution. Stock exchanges arose. At first, they chiefly promoted the exchange of commodities, but in due time they began to perform their modern function of facilitating the transfer of securities. Expanding investments and the multiplication of dangers involved in the new commerce stimulated underwriting and insurance. An enormous increase of precious metals, largely imported from the untapped sources of the New World, produced a marked dislocation of prices and stimulated an era of speculation and bubbles.

In many parts of Europe, most notably the Netherlands and England, the guild system was gradually supplanted by the so-called "domestic" or "putting-out" system. In this type of industrial control manufacturing left the establishment of the guild master and was re-established once more in the private homes of the workmen. The controlling individual was the merchant-capitalist. His representatives distributed the raw material among the workers scattered about in their homes, and then went around picking up the finished products to be brought back to the central warehouse for ultimate sale and distribution. While this system was better adapted to emergent capitalism than the guild system, its many wasteful weaknesses led to its disappearance with the rise of the factory system.

New commercial theories and policies arose to guide and control trading enterprises. These theories passed through two main stages. The first, mercantilism, was associated with the earlier phases of commercial expansion and with the rise of national states. It represented the expression of arrogant nationalism in commercial activities, and was based upon the theory that the economic interests of a particular state can be advanced only at the expense of its neighbors and its own colonies. Mercantilism advocated complete state control of national and colonial trade, in order to bring about a surplus of exports over imports and thus provide a steady addition to the supply of precious metals stored up within the boundaries of a particular state.

At first, the merchant class enthusiastically supported absolute monarchs in their policy of stringent commercial regulation, but in due time they found that it imposed serious restrictions upon their commercial activities. Consequently, they turned to the new scientific philosophy, based upon the conception of a natural order in the universe, to justify a new commercial policy. They contended that since God rules the heavens by his immutable laws he must also rule the earth and human society. Hence man should not interfere with this divinely-controlled process through restrictive legislation. The middle class demanded the repeal of repressive mercantile laws and absolute freedom in business activities. This policy of laissez-faire and free trade, while enunciated by the Physiocrats in the eighteenth century, made no very significant headway until the first half of the nineteenth century. The defense of unmitigated competition was buttressed in the nineteenth century by Spencerian dogmas of cosmic evolution, and it has remained the chief obstacle to social justice and constructive social legislation down to the present day.

Social Changes

There were many important social changes in the period of European expansion during the commercial revolution between 1500 and 1800. The omnipotence of the landowners, which had persisted during the thousand years following the decline of the Roman Empire, was now gradually challenged by the growing middle class of merchants and manufacturers. The bourgeoisie did not triumph over the landowners until after the industrial revolution had wrought its effects. Yet they were able to hold their own in the conflict, and to induce governfects. Yet they were able to hold their own in the conflict, and to induce governments to adopt and forward many of their cherished policies. This rise of the middle class in numbers, power, and prestige, was the outstanding social transformation of early modern history. Furthermore, the middle class became diversified. New aspects of commerce and industry introduced specialization and division of labor. The individualistic philosophy of Protestantism provided a religious and ethical sanction for the practices and prestige of the bourgeoisie.

The lower classes also profited to some

degree by the social and economic changes of this age. Slavery among the white population entirely disappeared, and serfdom was gradually extinguished, although in certain areas in central and eastern Europe the serfs were not emancipated until the middle of the nineteenth century. Serfdom had disappeared in England before the close of the sixteenth century, and was markedly reduced in France before the eve of the French revolution. The status and well-being of the peasantry in western Europe considerably improved, although in England it suffered a decided setback with the rise of capitalistic farming after the middle of the eighteenth century. Many peasants thus driven out of their homes were only too glad to find work at low wages in the new factory towns that were springing up during the initial stages of the industrial revolution.

The remarkable increase in the power and prestige of the middle class, carrying with it a challenge to the landed aristocracy, and a slight improvement in the condition of the peasantry, constituted the most notable social changes of this period. There were others, however, both significant and interesting.

The mobility of the population increased. The explorations, discoveries, and growing prosperity stimulated travel and enormously extended European knowledge about foreign regions. Further, at this time there began the first real movement of people from the old to the new world—a movement which has become one of the outstanding social phenomena in modern history. Manners and customs altered remarkably, owing to the introduction of ideas and products from overseas. The result was a great increase in comfort, luxury, and ostentatious display among the upper and middle classes. The new products from overseas also brought about interesting and novel social customs and practices. For instance, the importation of coffee and tobacco from the new world was associated with such institutions as coffee-houses and smoking-taverns.

Political Innovations

Political changes associated with early modern times were far-reaching and fundamental. That intermediate or transitional stage of political evolution, known as feudalism, dominated the Middle Ages. Early modern times witnessed the termination of feudalism in the advanced states of western Europe, and the subsequent rise of national states characteristic of the modern era.

While some centralization had been accomplished in the later Middle Ages, the extinction of feudalism necessarily awaited the acquisition of adequate resources by sovereigns to enable them to hire their own armies and pay their own officials. In the feudal order money and soldiers had been provided, for the most part, by the barons. It was scarcely to be expected that the latter would liberally or enthusiastically contribute to a cause which meant their own extinction. When the royal income notably increased through various forms of revenue derived from the discoveries, commerce, and colonization of the new world, the kings gradually acquired a standing army and administrative bureaucracy of their own. They were then able to continue with zest the struggle of centuries to destroy the local and decentralized feudal order and to establish centralized national states.

Protestantism gave a strong religious and psychological stimulus to the new movement. The Protestant revolt was to a large extent a political secession from that great international state, the Roman Catholic church. In some countries, as in England during the War of the Roses, the termination of feudalism and the establishment of the national state were vastly forwarded by decimating civil wars among the feudal nobility.

In general, the middle class at first joined with the kings in attempting to overthrow the feudal lords, because of the age-long hatred which the merchant class bore toward the latter, owing in large degree to the oppression and extortion to which the merchant or town class had been subjected by the nobility during the medieval period.

While the establishment of national states was the outstanding political achievement of early modern times, their evolution passed through at least two stages.

In the first they were dynastic and absolute. The alliance of merchants and kings weakened the opposition to royal absolutism. The national dynastic state was established in England in 1485, in

Spain by 1556, in France by 1589, in Russia by 1698, and in Prussia by 1713. In the last two the transition was achieved primarily through imitation of the western European states rather than because of direct participation in the new commerce and colonial expansion.

In due time, however, the rising middle class found that absolute monarchs were as repressive and irritating as the feudal nobility. When protests and petitions to kings proved unavailing, the middle class organized forceful resistance. The results were the well-known English Revolutions of 1654-1649 and 1688-1689, the American Revolution of 1775-1783, the French Revolution of 1789-1795, and the revolts of 1820, 1830, and 1848 in continental Europe.

Because of these revolutions, the dynastic national state was replaced by representative and parliamentary government, which was an indispensable requisite to the subsequent growth of democracy and majority rule. Without this supremacy of the elective or legislative branch of the government, the later enfranchisement of the lower classes would have meant little or nothing in actual practice. The triumph of representative institutions and parliamentary government carried with it by both fact and implication a great transition in the class basis of political power. The landed aristocracy had, for the most part, controlled political institutions since the dawn of written history. Their power was now effectively undermined, and the middle class gradually took over political ascendancy.

Changes in political theory paralleled these transformations in political practice. Nationalism underlay both the dynastic and the representative phases of early modern political evolution. The assertion of secular absolutism, or the supremacy of the state, was common to both the absolutist and the revolutionary political theory of this period. The monarchs of early modern times, some as a direct defense of their presumptions, and others as a Protestant defense against papal pretensions, vindicated their absolutism on the ground of the alleged "divine right of kings."

The merchants, in their attack upon royal power, revived and elaborated the social contract theory. According to this doctrine, the state was originally created through a deliberate act for the purpose of securing protection from anarchy. Those who were then chosen to rule over their fellow men contracted to govern according to law and the principles of justice. If they did not do so, the purposes for which government had been established would be undermined. It was not only the right but the duty of the citizens to rise up and drive out such arbitrary rulers and choose a new set who would in their turn promise to rule according to the original contract. This doctrine of the political right and the moral obligation of revolution constituted the theoretical foundations and justification of the English, French, and American revolutions. This new middle-class state claimed, however, the same supreme powers arrogated by the absolute monarchs. The difference was that secular absolutism now rested, in theory at least, on the consent of the people.

Legal Developments

LEGAL changes in this era accompanied social and political evolution. Feudal law was gradually replaced by national codes, comprehensive in scope and savage in nature. Under the divine-right rulers, these penalized with special severity any acts which challenged royal supremacy. When the middle class acquired political power, they were particularly interested in protecting property and business enterprise from arbitrary royal interference and confiscation. Hence, the chief influence of the bourgeoise upon jurisprudence was to emphasize the duty of the state to protect private property, and to stress the desirability of non-interference in business activities. John Locke, perhaps the most influential writer of the age, openly contended that the chief purpose of the state and law was the protection of property.

The doctrine of natural rights was invoked and elaborated to support these basic dogmas of the sanctity of property and the freedom of business. It was maintained that the chief purpose of the state and legislation is to respect and preserve the natural rights of man to life, liberty, and property, with special emphasis on property. Law, which was henceforth mainly devoted to protecting property, became secular and absolute,

freed from the earlier theological restraints and ethical norms which had prevailed in the middle ages. Here, then, originated that type of juristic thought and practice which has served as the bulwark of business and finance against social regulation, and has found its finest flower in the "due process" clause of the fourteenth amendment to the American federal constitution.

At the close of the eighteenth century and throughout the nineteenth there developed a widespread movement for constitutions, designed to give property not only the immunities enjoyed under statutory law, but also the more profound and impregnable security of constitutional law.

Religious Readjustments

There were many highly significant changes in religion in early modern times. The unity of Christendom was broken by the Protestant revolt. The so-called Reformation did not, however, embody any very definite break with the Christian epic or orthodox Catholic traditions.

Much more significant in its ultimate effect was the rise of a decisive criticism of orthodoxy, both Catholic and Protestant. The contact of Europe with other continents promoted the study of comparative religion. This was necessarily highly destructive to the theory of a single, unique, revealed religion. Com-

THE NOBLE REDMAN STILL RETAINS HIS FOLKWAYS

After three centuries of contact with white civilization, this Blackfeet tepee at the Glacier National Park Reservation in Montana shows the persistence of native customs among our Amerindian aborigines. Iron implements these Indians have gratefully adopted, but they use them still after the fashion of their savage ancestors. First learning of the American savages, European "natural philosophers" romanticized their primitive civilization as superior to that of Europe. It took the French Revolution to disembarrass the thought of Europe of the theory that primitive savagery represented the Golden Age of mankind's innocence.

© *Ewing Galloway*

parative religion, combined with an understanding of the religious implications of the new astronomy and natural science, encouraged the deists and rationalists to repudiate orthodox Christianity, as based upon revealed scripture. In its stead they proposed the so-called "natural religion," the identification of God with nature, and of natural law with divine law. They held that the teachings of Jesus could easily be harmonized with this more enlightened and humane type of natural religion, but they rejected both orthodox Protestantism and Catholicism.

Not only did the newly discovered facts about the nature of the earth and the universe seem to challenge the authenticity of the scriptures; the critical and historical investigation of the authorship of the Bible, begun at this time, also weakened scriptural authority.

Religion readjusted itself to new economic and social developments. There was a close relationship between Protestantism and capitalism. The Protestants regarded business as a divine calling, and Calvin particularly stressed the divine approval of persistent industry and thrift. While considerable doubt was raised as to divine sanction of reckless expenditures of money, there was complete certainty regarding the pleasure which the Almighty derives from witnessing the steady accumulation of pecuniary profits. The rigorous code of private ethics developed by the Puritans was in large part an overcompensation for their absorption in the processes of material gain—for privateering, the slave trade, rum trade and the like.

Thus was reëstablished that intimate association between religion and business enterprise which characterized the civilization of ancient Mesopotamia, and produces in our own day such assertions as those of Mr. G. F. Baer, that modern plutocrats are unquestionably "those Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interests of the country." The doctrinal line of descent is theoretically clear and direct from the priests of ancient Babylonia to John Calvin and Richard Baxter, and from Calvin to Chancellor J. R. Day, and Pastor E. V. Bigelow, who denounced the investigation of the steel strike of 1919 by the Interchurch World Movement.

Intellectual Effects of the Expansion of Europe

First and foremost among the intellectual influences growing out of the expansion of Europe must be placed the stimulation of intellectual curiosity. Nothing is more conducive to stagnation and self-complacency than provincialism and a localized perspective. So long as we know only our own culture, habits, customs and institutions, we can be gloriously satisfied with them and have no incentive to criticize and alter them. Once we learn about new and different methods of doing things, we are prone to contrast our ways with those of others and to consider whether we can make significant improvements in our ideas and modes of life. Mental curiosity and social progress are more powerfully promoted by the contact and contrast of cultures than any other factor in civilization.

The expansion of Europe brought about the most extensive and diversified contact of cultures thus far experienced by man. Europe was brought in touch with an incomparably larger portion of the globe than ever before. Europeans became acquainted with what were then the higher and richer civilizations of China and India, and with all types of primitive peoples. From Oriental sage to savage head-hunter, Europe at last faced the whole panorama of human culture. The stagnation, provincialism, and complacency of the medieval European community could not persist after such a psychic shock.

Another result of European expansion was the creation of a spirit of tolerance. The medieval mind was basically a single-track mind. Conditions of life were primitive and restricted in both medieval town and manor. Customs changed but little from century to century. Novelty and variety were taboo in both life and business. The Christian religion was very specific in its moral guidance. There was but one true religion, one permissible attitude towards sex and marriage, one commendable ethical code, and so on.

When educated and thinking Europeans were confronted with the enormous diversity of customs, beliefs, and institutions revealed by travelers and explorers, they could no longer remain so narrow-minded and intolerant. Right conduct seemed to them a relative matter. They noted that where monogamy existed it was regarded

as correct, but where polygyny prevailed it was just as decisively approved. Some races favored extensive consumption of alcoholic beverages. Others were completely abstemious. In one territory a certain act might be a crime, in another a virtue. Clothes, habitations, manners, and the like varied widely over the face of the globe.

All this helped philosophic Europeans, like Montaigne, Hume, Voltaire, and Montesquieu, to develop a tolerant outlook and to adopt a relativistic and comparative view of manners, morals, and institutions. It became much more difficult to enforce intolerance, bigotry, and like-mindedness.

Scientific Advances

In its specific contributions to science the expansion of Europe was by no means unimportant or negligible. Most directly influenced was navigation, with its accessory sciences, mathematics, engineering, and optics. Explorations not only enormously increased geographic information of every kind, but stimulated scientific cartography which could now be based on precisely determined latitude and longitude. Astronomy was enriched by the discovery and observation of constellations visible in the southern hemisphere, and by the scrutiny of known heavenly bodies from new positions on the earth's surface. The discovery of many important rocks, minerals, animals and plants in oversea areas advanced the sciences of chemistry, geology, botany, pharmacy, and zoology. And European contact with a large number of new racial types in widely varying stages of cultural development strongly stimulated what ultimately became the science of man, or anthropology. Hitherto, man had been approached primarily from the theological standpoint. Interest was centered in his soul. There was little concern about his body or his customs and institutions except as the latter bore directly upon the prospect of salvation in the world to come.

Oversea discoveries brought to the attention of Europeans all manner of men —red, white, black, and yellow in color; giants and pygmies; civilized, barbarous, and savage. They also confronted western philosophers with a vast variety of strange customs, folkways, institutions, and social practices. These at first caused astonishment, then curiosity, and finally reflective study. When scholars began to seek an explanation of the physical diversities of races, and the causes of sharply contrasting customs and institutions, the science of anthropology was started on its way to the splendid heights of development it has reached in the works of Tylor, Sumner, Boaz, Wissler, Rivers, Marett, and others. No subject is more helpful than anthropology in developing an intelligent and tolerant view of man and his behavior.

Closely related to anthropology is the science of comparative religion, for which there was little possibility before the age of expansion. The contrast had been sharply drawn between the one true religion, Christianity, and an unspeakable paganism, compounded of many varieties. Hence it was difficult to approach religion objectively, and calmly inquire into its origins, its many forms of expression, and its powerful hold on the mind of man. Religion had hitherto meant worship according to Christian concepts, and hatred and defiance of all pagan rituals and doctrines.

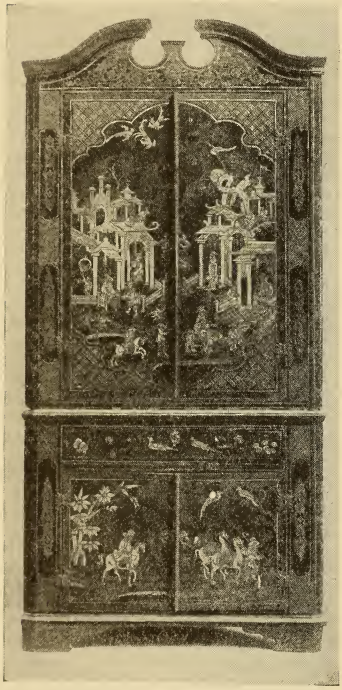
Explorers and travelers began to tell of the infinite variety of religious beliefs and practices. Some races worshipped one God, others many. Religious rites also varied greatly in different parts of the world. Furthermore, some religions seemed to propagate a lofty moral code; others encouraged cruel and savage practices.

Most Europeans who had heard or read of these strange religions continued to regard them as merely paganistic and, therefore, horrible. Nevertheless, some reflective minds actually began to wonder why religion existed at all, what constituted the vital difference between sects, and what similar elements might be detected in the psychological content of religions which externally seemed quite divergent. In other words, religion was regarded as something to be studied and thought about as well as blindly believed and devoutly worshiped.

The development of comparative religion struck a blow at religious intolerance in Europe. The contrasts between Catholicism and Protestantism seemed slight as compared to the differences between either of them and many aboriginal cults. Further, the comparative point of view is fundamentally opposed to the

single-track mind which begets intolerance and intellectual arrogance.

Overseas expansion also promoted the scientific study of language. The philological perspective was extended beyond Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and the vernacular languages of Europe. A veritable new linguistic Babel was uncovered. Attention was directed to such basic problems as the origins of language, the affinities of languages, the relation between language and culture, and the like. Language came to be regarded as an important aspect of racial culture. Indeed, by Fichte and many romanticist philosophers, language was viewed as the most distinctive factor in the culture of any people.



FURNITURE SHOWING CHINESE INFLUENCE

This Chinese Chippendale cabinet is a typical product of its maker and the 18th Century both strongly influenced by the artistic skill of Far Eastern craftsmen. The permanence of this influence is seen in the survival of this style of furniture to the present day.

Philosophy and Government

European expansion markedly influenced political philosophy. Ever since the Greek period there was a common belief in a state of nature which preceded orderly political society. But this remained purely hypothetical. Few since classical days had actually seen men in this condition. But explorations provided convincing confirmation of this hypothesis. Savages appeared to be men actually living in a state of nature. This view strongly stimulated the revolutionary political philosophy which, as we have seen, asserted that men originally lived in a state of nature and later established political institutions to escape from the inconveniences and dangers of a brutal and disorganized life.

Another effect on political philosophy was the extension of the comparative point of view. Down to this time European writers usually regarded some particular form of government as perfect in an absolute sense. But the observation of many types of government the world over challenged this dogma.

Writers like Montesquieu came to believe that a government is good or bad in proportion to its adaptability to the needs of a given group. For some, an absolute monarchy is best; for others, a constitutional monarchy; and for still others, a republic. Political analysis from the comparative and relative point of view was no longer looked upon as akin to treason. The same reasoning was applied to law. Legal codes were regarded as sound and desirable in the degree to which they harmonized with the civilization of a particular group. Comparative jurisprudence was thus created.

In one special and interesting way the discovery of primitive races exerted a profound influence upon European thought, particularly in France. Some philosophers, especially Rousseau, contrasted the supposedly care-free life of savages with the duties, responsibilities, and repressions of modern civilization. They held that savagery is preferable to civilization, and contended that man lost much through the development of the

arts, sciences, governments, and the like. Rousseau declared that the most perfect stage of culture is that state which is intermediate between savagery and civilization, namely, the patriarchal stage in which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived. But he distinctly preferred even primitive conditions to modern culture. This worship of a glorified and mainly imaginary savage—*primitivism*—lingered for many years in Paris salons and other intellectual centers of western Europe.

It was also inevitable that the new scientific discoveries and the philosophy of nature should react profoundly upon the philosophy of history. The idea of orderly development and continuity in social as well as natural processes was comprehended by Vico, Hume, and Turgot. The older view of social change as a gradual decline or retrogression from a primordial "golden age" was replaced in the writings of Fontenelle, Perrault, Vico, St. Pierre, Turgot, Kant, Godwin, and Condorcet by the concept of progress from lower to higher stages of civilization. The need for miracles to justify history and the other sciences dealing with human activities was challenged by the deist doctrine that man is inherently "decent," a notion widely at variance with the views of the church fathers and Calvin, who maintained that man is hopelessly depraved.

Finally the new discoveries and the secularization of natural and social philosophy extended the historian's interests beyond politics and religion. In the writings of Oviedo, Gomára, Voltaire, Raynal, Montesquieu, and Heeren, it became apparent that a broader and sounder view of history was being adopted.

Art and Education

After the period of exploration and discoveries, painting began to portray maritime life as well as the peoples who had been discovered overseas. The sailor, the adventurer, the idealized Indian maiden, to some degree displaced the priest, the martyr, and the Virgin as pictorial subjects. John White in England and Cornelius Kettell in the Netherlands, for instance, achieved reputations for their portrayal of American Indian life. Turner and others were interested in ships and the sea. Dutch art of the seventeenth century exhibited some rather novel and significant tendencies through its realism and its concern with the commonplace things of the everyday secular life of this commercial people. It should also be noted that accurate and artistic portrait painting first appeared in a prominent way in this period.

CHINESE CHIPPENDALE CHAIR

Still in fashion after 200 years, this type of chair is a silent tribute to the influence of China on 18th century Europe. Between 1735 and 1760 Thomas Chippendale, who designed it, ruled over furniture fashion in England from his galleries in the Strand, London.

Even more marked was the influence of overseas expansion in introducing Oriental decorations and customs. Porcelain ware was introduced from China and Japan. Screens and lacquered work became popular. The art of interior decoration in Europe practically dates from this period. From the Orient came such things as wallpaper, wainscoting, upholstered furniture, rich tapestries, and the like. Oriental patterns and motives revolutionized decorative design. Likewise, landscape gardening was almost completely guided by Oriental ideas, while rococo art and deco-

ration were chiefly Oriental importations.

The effect of overseas expansion on literature was incalculable. The manners, customs, and ideas of non-European races permeated the literature of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The setting of many romances was placed in America, Africa, or Asia. We need only to refer to the poetry of Camoëns, Spenser, Milton, and Dryden; to the drama of Shakespeare, Dryden and Molière; to the novels of Cervantes, Defoe, Swift, Bernadin de Saint Pierre, Samuel Johnson and Chateaubriand; and to the essays of Montaigne and Bacon, to recall the strong influence exerted upon literature by the contact of Europe with new continents. The *Lusiad, Paul and Virginia, Robinson Crusoe,* and *Gulliver's Travels,* to mention only a few characteristic works of this period dealing entirely with new worlds, have become immortal classics in the history of literature.

If the overseas expansion did not produce an immediate revolution in education and pedagogy, it ultimately exerted a very great influence. The new knowledge of the world, which finally made its way into the colleges and universities, helped to create contemporary education. His study of the life of primitive man impelled Rousseau to assault the artificial and repressive pedagogy of his day. He thus prepared the way for the pedagogical revolution of the next century which demanded a more natural and spontaneous type of education. This was led by men whose names loom large in the history of education—Basedow, Pestalozzi, Herbart.

The importance of the expansion of Europe will become more evident as we go on to later chapters and observe that the intellectual and cultural history of Europe from 1500 to 1800 is little more than an elaboration of the subject-matter of this chapter.

LUTHER AND THE REFORMATION

A REVIVAL OF INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE THAT SEVERED HALF EUROPE FROM THE SEE OF ROME

By CANON R. H. MURRAY, Litt.D.

Author of Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration, The Political Consequences of the Reformation, etc.

MARTIN LUTHER was born at Eisleben, November 10, 1483, and died there in 1546. His lonely childhood was followed by a lonely life at the school at Magdeburg, kept by the Brothers of the Common Life. For the least fault he was flogged till the blood flowed. Religion terrified him. Did he not hear of the judgements of the Almighty waiting to descend upon his head, of the snares of the devil ready to assault his body? In later life he entertained a lively recollection of the beatings he had received and of the terrors he had experienced, and these lasting impressions were to color his theology.

As an undergraduate at the University of Erfurt, in 1501, he found friends like Lang, Spalatin and Rubianus, and to them he showed the large humanity which characterized him. His scholarship was never extensive. He knew the Latin poets and orators tolerably well, and to the last day of his life he preferred the Vulgate to the Greek New Testament. Greek he did not study until 1518, when he began it with Philip Melanchthon, and he was never familiar with it. The Ethics and the Physics of Aristotle he knew, but he knew them both in a Latin dress. Clearly, the Promethean philosophy of rebellion was not in his thoughts.

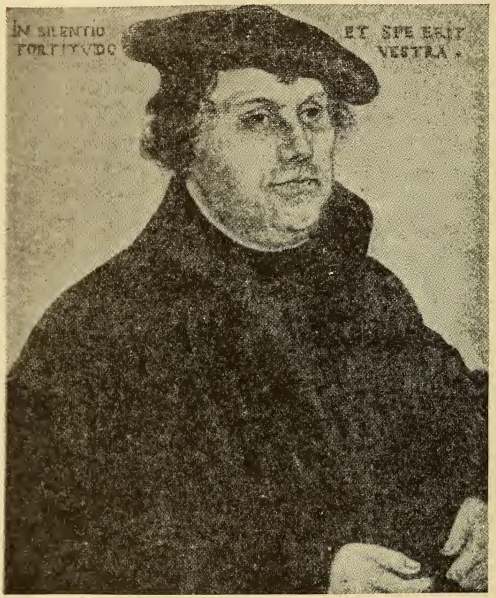
At first the Church was to Luther the final authority; yet the longer he lived, the more he perceived the difference between her creed and her practice. He came to refine his distinctions, and to note that there was the Invisible Church, to which all the faithful belonged, and the Visible, in which there were some unfaithful.

This idea of the Invisible Church boasts an honorable pedigree, running back to Huss, Wycliffe and S. Augustine, whose theology dominated the young man. Later he put it forward in the form of the Communio Sanctorum. Men, so Luther held, might belong to the Visible Church and yet might not belong to the Invisible. Might not men be cut off from the former —a Savonarola, for instance—and yet might they not be members of the body of Christ? The answer to such a question was far-reaching. No one, according to Oliver Cromwell, goes so far as he who does not know whither he is going. Luther went far, precisely for this reason. Never during the course of his life did he ask to see 'the distant scene'; one step at a time was enough for him. Did not God direct his path? He was no more than the instrument of Providence.

God works everything in us, he reasoned; but just as the carpenter, however capable he may be, cannot work properly with a jagged axe, so, in spite of God's work, sin still remains owing to the imperfection of the tool He uses; the Sacraments help men, but they only help men when they are faithful. To Luther baptism and Holy Communion are no longer means: they are simply signs of our justification by faith. Trusting to the Augustinian interpretation of Pauline thought, he derived a peace that passeth understanding from the view that those who, through faith in Christ as the revelation of God's righteousness, have accepted Him are clothed in a righteousness not their own. Faith is the one principle which God's grace uses for restoring us to His favor.

As a result of the fall of Adam human nature remained thoroughly corrupt: man is therefore the slave of sin. In his work De Servo Arbitrio (On the Subject Will) Luther declares the total absence of liberty on the part of man. The discoveries in a particular field are in a chain of sequence which determines their occurrence in se-

ries. Luther entertains the conception of the slavery of the human will, which ushers in a train of possibilities. Once he grasps this conception, the break with Rome is inevitable, for he feels himself the direct servant of God, and therefore his actions seem to be inspired. Similarly, after Columbus announces the discovery of America the fall of the medieval Church is possible, for she has aspired to be universal, and here is a whole continent completely ignorant even of her existence. Luther maintained with all his might that it is faith and faith alone that saves us. With such a principle guiding his life, Luther was no longer a humanist under the influence of such a teacher as Melanchthon. He was no longer a mystic under the influence of such a guide as Tauler. He was a theologian with a system which as effectually shook Europe in one way as Columbus and Copernicus shook it in another.



LUTHER THE CHALLENGER OF ROME

Born at Eisleben, Martin Luther (1483-1546) was educated at Erfurt. He studied for the Church, but became a vigorous assailant of its abuses and finally the leader of the Reformation. In sermons and lectures he upheld the doctrine of justification by faith with a courage and determination that never failed.

Pinakothek, Munich; photo, Hanfstängl

Objection to the Mass

LUTHER maintained that the importance attached to the sacrifice of the mass implied that Christ's sacrifice on the cross has been insufficient. Holy Communion was God's work for man. When it received a sacrificial value it became man's work for God. Inevitably he bent all his energies on bringing about the abolition of the mass. The altar was as much the center of the parish church as its doctrine was the heart of Church life. Only the Church possessed the mass, only the Church could offer the Body and the Blood of Christ. Accordingly, corporate life prevailed over individual. Just as certainly there was the tendency to make the objective element grow at the expense of the subjective. The priest absolved the sinner: that was objective. Could he be sure that the sinner was truly penitent? It was this subjective aspect which appealed so strongly to Luther. It seemed to him that instead of Christ being the one mediator between God and man, the priesthood intervened. The mass, then, was the tremendous obstacle to true religion: it, and it alone, mattered. Were it swept away, all mediation save that of the Savior was swept away with it. Then between God and man there was none to interfere. God bestowed upon the sinner the gift of pardon and peace, making him

a member of that priesthood to which all the faithful belonged.

Luther's own teaching in many respects leant as much towards passivity as that of the Church he was attacking. The amazing result of it, however, was that he himself was among the most forceful of the sons of men. Sometimes, when he shrank from work which fell to his lot, he felt a compelling energy. After all it was no longer he, but God, who wrought within him. The vital fact (as he believed) was that his will was entirely controlled by God: he was a mere agent who carried out the Divine decrees. The doctrine of predestination was the logical outcome.

When the Reformation came under the influence of the ideas of Luther, it became revolution, not evolution. For the next century and a half the sword and the stake were the chief arguments employed. In Germany there occurred the Thirty Years' War; in France the wars of religion; and in England the scaffold claimed the orthodox and the unorthodox alike. Yet in what other fashion could the vast change have taken place? The Church ruled by right divine, and force is the one effective method of destroying any divine right. Luther felt this, and from a far different standpoint Charles I was one day to feel it. It is tempting to imagine that the growth of learning through an Erasmus could have accomplished in peace what was accomplished by brutal violence. The world wanted the classics properly edited. Its sorest need, however, was faith. It is significant that in Italy the Renaissance allied itself with scepticism, whereas in Germany such an alliance was not possible.

From the Council of Vienne, 1311, men had recognized the necessity of reform in the Church. The humanists aimed at freedom for learning, Luther at freedom in the Church, whose doctrine must be pure and whose organization must be reformed. The conciliar movement failed in the task. The Church refused reform; she was confronted with revolution in its place.

Faith, according to Luther, meant personal trust in Christ and the salvation He offers. Like Newman's position at one time, he found himself face to face with two final existences—God and his own soul. He did not find himself face to face with the three final existences—his own soul, the world and God—which constitute the basis of Catholicism. He insisted that every Christian receives by the Spirit the gift of understanding and the gift of interpretation. The sign had taken the place of the thing signified. The priest had usurped the place of all the faithful; this process must be reversed; and reversed it was. Nor is his teaching in this respect new, for the Fathers emphasized the priesthood of the laity just as much as he.

The laity now became popes, each

THE SCHOLARLY MELANCHTHON

Theologian and writer, Philip Schwarzert, Grecised into Melanchthon (1497-1560), was zealous in the cause of reform. Teacher of Greek at Wittenberg University, he was a staunch supporter of his famous colleague, Martin Luther.

Pinakothek, Munich; photo, Hanfstängl

claiming to be able to interpret the infallible Word of God. How could Luther debar them from a voice in the State when he allowed a child of nine a voice in the Church? For if they were fitted to be entrusted with eternal affairs, were they not fitted to be entrusted with temporal? As the doctrine of justification by faith bestowed a free pardon on believers, their God was their Father. Since He was not

a despot, their king could not be one. How could the great revolutionary allow the sovereignty of conscience, and refuse his followers all share in the sovereignty of their country? This plea came with special force to one who founded his claims as much on national as on religious grounds. The day which saw the peasant and his lord alike aware of their common priesthood witnessed the beginning of a movement which one day was to give to the former a share in the government of their common country.

As the congregation was sovereign in form, it might, and did, become sovereign in substance. When the faithful received religious liberty, they proceeded to claim political. There is only one liberty, and it is liberty of conscience. All other forms of liberty are its offspring. 'When one begins to have religious doubts,' Chateaubriand points out, 'one has political doubts. The man who seeks the fundamentals in his creed does not delay long before investigating the principles of the government under which he lives. When the spirit demands its freedom, the body wishes it also. It is an absolutely natural consequence.' Free religious and free political life are ultimately inseparable. There is not a real break in the line of political thought from the Franco-Gallia of Hotman to the Declaration of Independence of 1776. As the one proclaimed the political liberty of the French of the sixteenth century, so the other proclaimed the political liberty of the American of the eighteenth. The line of succession runs from Martin Luther to John Calvin, from John Calvin to Philippe de Duplessis-Mornay, from Philippe de Duplessis-Mornay to John Knox, from John Knox to John Milton, from John Milton to John Locke, from John Locke to Alexander Hamilton.

The principle of authority had received rude assaults at the hands of Luther. In his denunciation of indulgences he had appealed to the pope from the teaching that Tetzel gave in the lines:

> As soon as money in the coffer rings
> The soul from purgatory's fire springs.

Luther Appeals to the Scriptures

At the Diet of Augsburg he appealed from the pope ill-informed to the pope better-informed, and then from the pope to a council. When the verdict of a council was used against him, he appealed to the Scriptures. He set to work to translate them into German. He was as successful in German as Tyndale was in English, for the two languages are what they are because of Luther's and Tyndale's translations. The Authorized Version of the Bible, made in 1611, had many predecessors. Tyndale, Coverdale, Rogers and Cranmer, each had a share in its felicity of language. Martin Luther enjoyed no such good fortune, and his matchless translation is largely his own.

His translation was popular, not scientific. That it completely achieved its object the after-history of Germany proves. The reformer received no fee for his great translation any more than for his other writings. His reward was the knowledge that his countrymen were for the first time, on a large scale at any rate, able to read the glad tidings of Christ in their own language. What Erasmus had accomplished for the Greek text, Luther accomplished for the German: the one was rendered accessible to the scholar, the other was rendered accessible to the people.

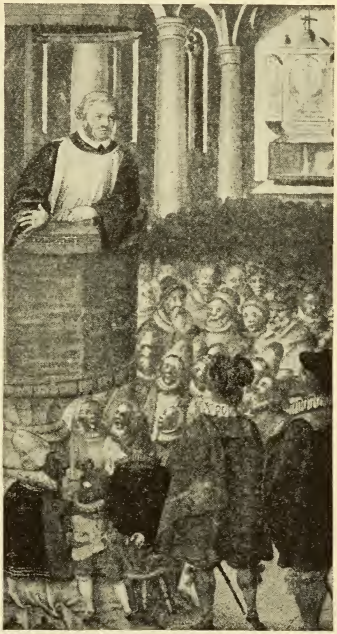
On its first publication in 1522 edition after edition was demanded. In Wittenberg alone sixteen editions of the New Testament were printed before 1557, while there were more than fifty reprints in the rest of Germany. From 1534 to 1584 no fewer than a hundred thousand complete Bibles left the press at Wittenberg. It is, therefore, the truth to say that Germany was flooded with the Bible. Cochlaeus testifies that even shoemakers and women became so absorbed in its study as to be able in a short time to carry on discussions with doctors in theology. For one reader of the sacred record before this translation there were fifty after it. Books had been published in tall and heavy folios, chained on the shelves of a library. Now they were octavo or half-octavo, small and light, moving freely from house to house. The weaver as he regulated his shuttle could take the translation down and read it in a spare moment. A book was no longer a stranger: it was a family friend.

It came as a shock of surprise to the reader to note that according to the Bible S. Peter made mistakes and was rebuked accordingly, thus showing little sign that

either he or his successors were infallible. It was difficult to think that extortionate cardinals were in the line of succession from one who had neither silver nor gold. It was no less difficult to discover in the New Testament authority for the worship of the Virgin Mary or the saints, the celibacy of the clergy, the use of indulgences, the veneration of relics and the like. Between the purity and simplicity of the meeting in the upper room at Jerusalem and the then growing artistic and architectural beauty of St. Peter's in Rome there was a difference sufficient to provoke inquiry.

Luther's pamphlets brought home to the bosoms of men the nature of Roman rule. His three most important publications, next to the translation of the Bible, were composed during the latter half of 1520, a year memorable for his public burning at Wittenberg of a papal bull denouncing his views (see page 1870 in Chronicle XXIII, where the salient events in his active life are narrated in fuller details). These are To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation on the Improvement of the Christian Estate, A Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, and On the Freedom of a Christian Man. These little quarto pamphlets came fresh from that new invention, the printing press, voicing plainly in town and country, in farm and workshop, the dimly felt religious aspirations, and the no less deeply felt political discontents. In the first of them the reformer gave a detailed description of the Roman exactions, setting forth the argument that Germany, and indeed other countries, was being exploited on the pretext that contributions were required for the administration of the Church. As Savonarola had assailed the political interests of the Papacy, so Luther assailed the economic. The religious attacks of either might have been ignored: their practical attacks could not be.

At Rome everything was then for sale: livings, dignities, cardinalates, the Papacy itself changing hands for money. When these were not sold, it was possible to sell pardon for sins. There was, indeed, a regular scale. The fine for adultery was 150 ducats, for the murder of two daughters 800 ducats, and so on. 'The Lord,' remarked an official at the court of Innocent VIII, who had himself bought his tiara, 'does not will the death of a sinner; he wills that he shall live and pay.' Nicolas V, a Maecenas whose liberality approached prodigality, wore diamonds and pearls over the crown and thorns of the Redeemer.



FERVENT PREACHING OF LUTHER

With a force and a sincerity that inspired his hearers, Luther preached his beliefs. He is seen here in characteristic attitude delivering his relentless attacks against the corruption of Rome, in a contemporary German MS. of his prayers.

British Museum; Additional MS. 4727

One of his sixteenth-century successors was of a far different type. When Michelangelo was finishing the statue of Julius II, he represented that pontiff with one of his hands raised either for blessing or cursing. The sculptor inquired what he was to put in the other hand. Was he

to carve a book? 'Place a sword there,' answered Julius II. 'I do not know letters.' The popes of the first half of the sixteenth century, with the honorable exception of Adrian VI, place the sword in their hand on behalf of their Italian states and of the interests of their children. They are the chiefs of principalities, not heads of the Church, requiring incessant supplies of money for the furtherance of their secular interests. Men spoke of the avarice of the Church, the sensuality of the Church, the ambition of the Church, because these were the matters they either saw or heard described. Leo X abdicated the government of souls in favor of letters and learned men, who paid in homage what others paid in money.

Erasmus wrote for princes and learned men, and he scarcely moved the people, who saw that simony was rampant in the Church, though humanistic disputes never crossed their horizon. They neither read nor wrote. They sowed their corn, they planted their vines, they manufactured their goods—and they resented the exactions of the ecclesiastical tax-gatherer. In Saxony, as in France on the eve of the Revolution, the taxes were light, and this lightness made the peasant resent the Roman exactions all the more. Luther cleverly took advantage of this resentment, and interlaced political with religious motives in the fashion which made Ranke regard this policy as the most striking feature of the sixteenth century. Innocent III failed because he found himself everywhere opposed to the rising forces of nationality, and Leo X failed for precisely the same reason. The fact that he appealed to the Christian nobility of the German nation showed how conscious Luther was that in most instances he could reckon on the support of the natural leaders of his fellow-countrymen. The time was ripe, the circumstance was propitious, and the man's genius gave effect to both.

As Machiavelli freed the state from considerations of the moral law, Luther likewise freed it from the control of the Church. Is it not the duty of the state,

SALE OF INDULGENCES RIDICULED BY A PROTESTANT ARTIST

The monks in this caricature by Hans Holbein are doing a brisk trade in the sale of indulgences. The object of Leo X was the accumulation of money for the building of S. Peter's, and sinners had no longer need of penance to gain absolution; payment of the amount scheduled was the only condition necessary to the annulment of any sin. The rarity of examples of this print is attributed to the suppression of the original woodcut by the Basel authorities.

British Museum

he argued, to check and control all forms of combination injuring the welfare of the people? Thus he won the sympathy of the multitude by his stern attitude towards capitalism, luxury and immorality. He was obliged to vindicate himself to his friends against blowing the blast of revolt, but his comrade, Johann Lang, rightly told him that his work was a bugle-call which sounded throughout the whole of Germany. The element of negation is in his pamphlet. It is an element not only in the Reformation, but also in every revolution ever made. Did not the constitution of 1789 begin by demolishing feudalism so that the French could then raise the building of fraternity and equality?

The patriot and the prophet are impossible to dissociate in the composition of the first pamphlet. There is rage because of the offences against mankind committed by the Papacy, and there is rage because of the offences committed by the same authority against his beloved land. In his desire to secure a foundation for his evangel Luther appeals to the rulers who had listened to it. As the early Fathers asserted the rights of the state, so he followed in their train. The theory of sovereignty that Innocent IV invented on behalf of the papal monarchy he turns to the interests of the German people.

LUTHER'S ANTAGONIST

Johann Eck (1486-1543), professor at Ingolstadt, was the most conspicuous of papal champions and took part in the dispute at Leipzig in 1519; he went so far as to denounce Luther as a heretic. This print calls him 'a great enemy of Christ.'
From Schröckh, 'Abbildungen berühmter Gelehrten'

Bodin's View Anticipated

LUTHER showed the emperor, the princes and the whole German nobility the method by which Germany could break away from Rome and undertake its own reformation. He set to work to remove the distinction between the clerical and the lay estate. The law of the land covers everyone within the bounds of the kingdom, clergy as well as laity. The ecclesiastical authority of Rome therefore ceases. His view of all ecclesiastical authority, anticipating Bodin's, excludes every extension of that authority to the sphere of political or civil liberty. Everyone living within the boundaries of any given state is subject to its laws, and is not subject to the laws of any outside body. In fact, medieval unity was essentially false: it was a principle of domination destroying the liberty of the individual, and thereby that of the state. By breaking this unity Luther made possible the era of modern nations.

Luther substituted secular for ecclesiastical authority. What Henry VIII did in England and Philip II in Spain, Luther did in Germany. The English substitution was fundamentally altered by the Puritans, but Louis XIV and Joseph II can trace their descent from their German parent. To Luther as to Althusius, to German thinkers as to Anglican divines,

the civil power is indeed a spiritual body. To him the state is not a mere police state, not a body whose chief duty is to ensure the keeping of contracts. His mind contains in germ the wonderful conception of Edmund Burke that the state is a divine institution. According to the Irish thinker, 'without society man could not by any possibility arrive at that perfection of which his nature is capable, nor even make a remote and faint approach to it. He, the Divine Author, gave us our nature to be perfected by our virtue. He must therefore have willed the means of its perfection. He must therefore have willed the state, and He willed its connexion with Himself, the source of all perfection.' It is in truth a conception as old as Plato, and as recent as Hegel and the powerful school of advocates of state rights founded by Fichte and himself. Society is a partnership, an association for the greater purposes of our being, for the promotion of science, art, virtue.

The tract On the Freedom of a Christian Man breathes the spirit of individualism to an even greater extent than the tract Calvin wrote on this subject in 1539. The doctrine of the sovereignty of the individual was fraught with weighty consequences in the sixteenth century, and with almost weightier in its influence on Rousseau, and thereby on the French Revolution, in the eighteenth. Man emerged from his position as a mere member of the Church or the state and acquired an individuality of his own. In bringing about his emergence Luther played no mean part. Alongside him stands the inventor of printing, which permitted the free circulation of ideas, so that for the first time they entered the minds of more than a select few. Alongside the inventor of printing stands the inventor of gunpowder, which put into the hands of all an argument more potent than that of all the philosophers from Marsiglio of Padua to Luther of the Wartburg.

The old order had been the Empire or the Church, the commune, the guild, the scholastic system: the individual was always part of some group, and had no existence apart from it. The new order was the state, the national church, the merchant, the individual. The old order had as fundamentals authority and asceticism: the new had reason and joy in the whole of life. For a thousand years there had been as much authority in social life as in intellectual. Men had been content to build the cathedrals of the Middle Ages and remain unknown, whereas the individualistic artists of the Renaissance asserted themselves to the utmost, and the thirst for glory became unquenchable. Genius prevents man finding an equal, pride prevents him from lowering himself to an inferior. The statues used to be seen within the cathedral, for they were erected to the glory of God. Now they stood in the market-place to be seen of men. Man used to be bound to a bishop, a lord, a municipality, to a school or a body. Now he proudly stepped on the stage as himself, eager to develop his capacities for his own benefit, with boundless confidence in his will, his superiority and his infinite variety.

The body dissolved into the units which composed it. There was no longer the Papacy—but there was the pope, a lord like other lords. There was no longer the Holy Roman Empire; there was the emperor, also a lord, and no more than other lords. There was no longer the city; there was the prince. There was no longer the university; the spirit of humanism took its place. The painter ceased to depict the group; the portrait is his masterpiece. He used to describe on the walls of cemeteries the triumph of death; he now described on the walls of houses the triumph of life. The quest is no more the One in the Many; it is the Many in One.

In this seething mass Luther's Freedom of a Christian Man made for the disruption of existing society. The moving eloquence of the language employed brought home to the heart of the people that it was enough to have experienced the power of faith in tribulation, temptations, anxieties and struggles to understand that in it lay the true freedom of a Christian man. The believer, incorporated with Jesus by faith, receives from Him his priesthood. All are priests, like the Savior with Whom all are one. The peasant tills the ground, the priest celebrates Holy Communion—that is all. There is no difference between them save that of office. In a word, Orders are not a sacrament; they are a matter of Church organization. Inevitably it suggested that

a national church could come into being without being in any wise cut off from the communion of saints or fellowship with the Divine Head of one great body.

Luther insisted, with all the eloquence at his command, upon the dignity which faith and a state of grace could impart to every calling, even the humblest. A thought had escaped from a soul that was common to all and made an immediate appeal to every humble heart. The Freedom of a Christian Man is a book for every century, though it bears the distinguishing marks of its own. Luther's vivid writing impressed on all that life in this world, and the most insignificant employment, when illumined by religion, has in it something of the infinite. The German people had outgrown the conception of the duality of life and found the new conception of its essential unity.

One outstanding effect was the emphasis laid on vocation in relation to daily occupation. The 'Saint's Rest' was in the world to come; in this he was to labor at his calling. Business henceforth was to become a sacred office in which it was a man's bounden duty to do his utmost to the greater glory of God. Luther was fortunate in the moment in which he launched forth this idea, for Europe was about to change from the agricultural to the capitalistic system. The Reformation occurred at the time of the beginning of modern capitalism. This new industrial system gave rise to an enormously potential revolutionary force. The sanctity of the monastic life was transferred to the common round, the trivial task. Man no longer was made for a function; a function was made for man. The 'religious' were no longer men and women in monasteries and convents; life and religion were now fundamentally one, a conception plainly held by Erasmus in his delightful book on Christian marriage. Christianity and religion, Erasmus said, were not bound up with any particular order or way of life; the whole family, according to Christ's teaching, was one great family—one great cloister.

Priestly ideals no longer dominated men, and a new lay attitude to the world replaced the ecclesiastical attitude of the Middle Ages. Formerly it was held that 'to pray is to work,' now it was taught that work is prayer, with the result that a justification was at once given to social service, the worth of which the world is only beginning to realize. Luther secularized monasticism just as Erasmus secularized knowledge. Other-worldliness had rendered men indifferent to the secrets of the universe, of the ground beneath them and the heavens above them. They had been so preoccupied with the Word of God that they omitted to consider the works of God. The globe acquired a fascination for mankind hitherto unknown.

Christian ethics until now had a divided ideal. It taught some men devotion to others, and self-sacrifice on their behalf. It taught holiness and righteousness as the ideal of the monk and the nun. The two ideals were parallel and independent. Luther joined them in the one end of human service. In human intercourse the medievalist had thought that what was natural was wrong. Luther, like Erasmus, taught that what was natural was right. Human life, in its innermost being, is in harmony with the eternal law of morality. No doubt a heavy price had to be paid for the change. For example, the denial of the honor accorded throughout the Middle Ages to virginity had the effect of making the social position of woman wholly dependent on her marriage. The state of poverty was once the sign of a saint; now it was the mark of a failure. Other-worldliness was no longer the motive. A good citizen of this earth was thus preparing for his citizenship in the New Jerusalem.

The Reformation restored to the heart that freedom which had been so long denied it, and, with the logical precision and severity of his race, Calvin the Frenchman continued the work of Luther the German. For the Reformation was primarily a revival of religion, a renewal of man's unending yearning for communion with God. 'The Reformation,' to quote Bishop Westcott's words, 'was the affirmation of individuality.' But to secure this right to the individual the old doctrinal system had to be swept away and a new one built on its ruins—the new spirit had to express itself in new forms. The materials for the structure were no longer the Bible and tradition, but the Bible alone. The architecture of the building, however, depended on the character of the builders. And so we have Luther with his curious mixture of reliance on the letter of what pleased

him and daring criticism of what did not; the English reformers with that remarkable combination of new and old determined by their political circumstances; and Calvin with the pitiless logic so characteristic of the French temper, so unassailable in his conclusions when his premises are granted.

There was only one thing the Calvinist feared, and that was sin. There was only one being he feared, and that was God. The Calvinist feared God with all his soul, and this exhausted his capacity for fear. The face of man he did not fear. Nor does the power of God mean the powerlessness of man. If Luther could say 'I believe, therefore I am,' Calvin could say: 'I act, therefore I am.' The belief in predestination formed the school of vigorous ecclesiastical and political life. God is active and energetic, and therefore his servant, man, must also be active and energetic. Order and obedience, gravity and chastity, temperance in life and sobriety in thought are qualities every whit as valuable for the state as for the Church. Economy and industry lead on to property, and this in turn leads on to prosperity in the state as much as in the Church.

GENEVA'S DISCIPLINARIAN

John Calvin (1509-1564), theologian and reformer, was more definite and methodical than Luther. Rigidly moral, he purified life at Geneva, and is renowned as author of the Institutes of the Christian Religion.

Contemporary engraving

The sovereignty of God as understood by the Calvinists might seem at first sight as if it would have leaned towards absolutism in politics; actually it did nothing of the kind. The fear of God, in the view of John Calvin, took away the fear of man. As no power really came from man, and as all power came from God, all in His sight, kings and subjects alike, were equal. There was a halo around the heavenly King; there was none around the earthly king. The Calvinist ecclesiastical system acknowledged no head with right divine. There were simply representatives chosen by the people. The ecclesiastical republic in time led on to a political republic. For when men have learned in ecclesiastical affairs to govern themselves through their elected representatives, the stage to representative government in the state is but a short one. James I was never wiser than when he uttered the words 'No bishop, no king.'

Calvin was far too methodical a Frenchman to rest satisfied with mere talk about rights. He proceeded to create machinery for the employment of these rights, and he also proceeded to create machinery for the punishment of those who violated them. Luther was not enough of an ecclesiastical statesman to perceive the necessity of machinery for the preservation of law, order and, above all, discipline in a newly organized body. With statesmanlike instincts, Calvin was fully determined that discipline must take its part in the purging of the offender. The spirit of Calvinism is as vague as the character of a nation. The fact of Calvinism is in no wise vague, and one of the institutions that differentiated it sharply from Lutheranism is that it had resolutely determined to have discipline. Men might talk as they pleased about their rights, but Calvin resolved that they should bear in mind their duties. If they did not, then his discipline should bring them to their senses. His genius for an ordered coherence had methodized the incoherence of Luther. His mind was set on unity, as well as on divinity, and by virtue of his genius and his mind he compelled the clashing churches to become a highly organized body. In a word, he was a lay pope.

Indeed, he was that most formidable of all popes, a pope by birth, not by election.

Drunkenness and debauchery were visited with severe penalties; adultery more than once with death. Prostitutes who ventured back to Geneva were mercilessly thrown into the Rhône. Cards were altogether prohibited. Rope-dancers and conjurers were forbidden to perform. Usury was restricted, no higher rate of interest being allowed than six per cent. France, the Netherlands, Germany, Scotland, England and New England all attest how seminal were the ideas scattered broadcast by Calvin in his letters and sermons, in his commentaries as well as in his Institutes. His discipline effected his ends; the rest of the things he saw and the dreams he dreamt, are they not written in the history of Europe?

THE POPE IN DIFFICULTY

This early engraving caricatures the struggle of the pope with his two great opponents, Luther and Calvin. Confusion is worse confounded by the mutual hostility of his assailants, Luther pausing in the onslaught to pull Calvin's beard.

From Jaime, 'Musée de Caricature'

Martin Luther, his mark, is written over the face of Lutheranism, and John Calvin, his mark, is written over the face of Presbyterianism. Herein lie the strength and the weakness of the Lutheran and the Calvinist. On the other hand, the Anglican cannot trace the growth of his church to any one individual in the same sense that the Lutheran or the Calvinist can. John Wycliffe is a great man in the Anglican firmament—that is all. In him the spirit of Puritanism rather than the spirit of Anglicanism is incarnate. There is in him that narrowness of sympathy we sometimes associate with the Puritan of the past. We also note the same uncompromising rejection of medievalism as a whole, the same pronounced individualism, the same preference for sweeping change, the same desire for a complete breach with the past and the same dislike of tradition.

No great teacher had arisen in England since the days of Wycliffe, and the monasteries had long ceased to produce great chronicles. In the small houses there were priests who could not even construe the rule of their order. The Renaissance left them unaffected, and no English monk contributed to the progress of letters. Visitations, as Bishop Fox showed Wolsey, were of little avail to uproot monastic corruption; fresh statutes and constitutions were of no avail unless they were observed. The visitation of the monasteries began in July, 1535, and the articles of inquiry were minute and comprehensive. Some of the commissioners appointed to carry out the visitation, as, for instance, Dr. Layton and Dr. Leigh, did not come to their task with unprejudiced minds, and, indeed, the whole work was carried out with extreme haste. Yet the monasteries had outlived their best days. Some 376 houses were dissolved, and an annual revenue of £32,000 was obtained for the crown, together with the plate, jewels and

other household effects of the communities so condemned. Stow estimated the number of people, masters and servants, who lost their means of living by the act of dissolution at ten thousand, and of these two thousand were monks and nuns. The two counties most affected by the dissolution were Yorkshire, where fifty-

CARTHUSIAN PRISONERS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON

In England the Reformation, less of a religious than a political question, arose out of Henry VIII's quarrel with the pope over the annulment of his marriage. This Roman propagandist print of 1555 shows the Carthusians, Humphrey Middlemore, William of Mewe and Sebastian Newdegate, imprisoned for refusing to recognize Henry as head of the English church.
British Museum

three religious houses were suppressed, and Lincolnshire, where thirty-seven houses were swept away.

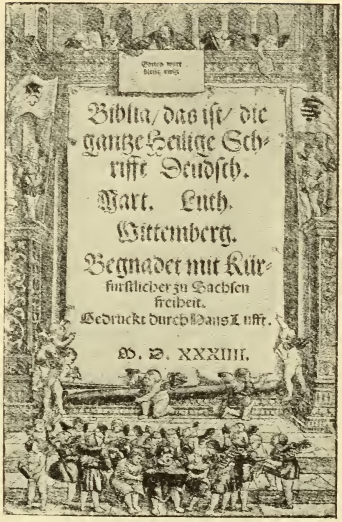
The danger of the new individualism in the dissolution of the monasteries is obvious. It is as clear in Wycliffe as it was to be in Cartwright. What alleviated the danger was the fresh importance attached to conscience. The most wonderful of all medieval centuries was the thirteenth, and it was late in that century, as Lord Acton used to point out, that the psychology of conscience was closely studied for the first time, and that men began to speak of it as the audible voice of God that never fails or misleads, and that ought to be observed, whether right or wrong. Bishop Creighton insisted that conscience had a larger hold of the Teuton than of the Slav or the Latin, and that this formed the strength of the Reformation.

The English parliament met on November 3, 1529, and inaugurated a series of changes second to none in importance. It settled many matters which, perhaps, do not strictly come within the scope of our subject. Here, however, it is hard to draw a line. For the dissolution of the monasteries and the consequent redistribution of the national wealth were in accordance with the spirit of the age. At the end of its sittings of almost seven years the separation from Rome was complete, and the royal supremacy over the English church, 'so far as the law of Christ allows,' established. Some of the main steps in the process of separation from Rome were the declaration that all the clergy were liable to the penalties of praemunire (1531), that the payment of annates, or first fruits and tenths of benefices, to Rome was forbidden (1532), that the clergy were no longer allowed to legislate (1532), that all appeals to Rome were forbidden (1533), and that all papal authority in England was annulled (1534).

The heart of the English nation never went out to the Reforming movement

until the Marian martyrs died at the stake. The number of those who sealed their testimony with their blood fell short of three hundred, but among them were the very elect of the reformers. The heroic story of the martyrdom of Cranmer—as Professor Pollard has shown with a wealth of psychological insight—the story of Ridley and Latimer—these stories, when told by the cunning hand of Foxe, left the deepest impression on the people at large. With perfect truth a lady wrote to Bonner: 'Within a twelvemonth you have lost the heart of twenty thousand rank Papists.'

The progress of the Reformation had taken place in spite of persecution; perhaps one may say the progress occurred on account of persecution. For it is impossible to believe half-heartedly when the stake is the penalty. There were Englishmen—and Englishwomen, too—whose faith waxed strong as the flames leaped around them. There is a fierce joy in enduring pain for a creed that is dearer than life. From this standpoint, force is a vital condition of all religious beginnings. Under its influence vague ideas become firm, and the vacillator turns resolute.



TITLE PAGE OF LUTHER'S FAMOUS BIBLE

Luther, like Wycliffe before him, recognized the need for a vernacular translation of the Bible. His first edition, of which the title page is here shown, was published in 1522 and demand increased throughout the century. Thus did Luther give his countrymen access to a first-hand knowledge of the Scriptures.

British Museum

REFORMERS ADMINISTERING COMMUNION

This reproduction of an old print gives an allegorical representation of the triumph of lay communion. Huss had perished at the stake seventy years before the time of Luther and yet the artist portrays them together in the administrations of the Holy Sacrament. Fundamentally their aims were the same.

Down to the year 1570 when Pius V excommunicated Queen Elizabeth, there was no idea on the part of the English that any new church had come into being. There had been changes in the ceremonies of the Church; there had been none in her creeds. Clergy and people, down to the day when Pius V deposed Elizabeth, attended the same parish church as they had always attended. Then, no doubt, some broke away from the church they had known and loved. Kitchin, for example, was bishop of Landaff from 1545 under Henry VIII to 1563 under Elizabeth. Goodrich and Thirlby were bishops in the days of Henry VIII and they were no less bishops in the days of Mary I. It is true that the Church of

England submitted to the See of Rome under Henry VIII, and refused to submit any longer. It is true that the Church of England submitted to the See of Rome under Mary I, and refused to submit any longer. Unquestionably it was the same body after the refusal of Henry VIII to submit, as it was after the consent of Mary I to submit, to this jurisdiction.

On the continuity of the Church of England there is almost nothing half so impressive as the unbroken row of Registers on the shelves of Lambeth Library. J. R. Green used to point out that there is another set of documents equally continuous—those which record the presentations to livings. Bishop Stubbs remarked to Green that you might read these through and hardly guess that any ecclesiastical change had accompanied the English Reformation. There are, of course, verbal differences, but not more extensive than those which appear in the extant consecration-deed of Parker. The matter, Green proceeds to explain, is simple enough—a registrar or lawyer whose daily business is drawing up documents by precedent alters just as little as he can, and naturally under Elizabeth there were grave reasons, arising from the war with Spain, why queen and primate were thoroughly at one in this matter. The truth is that while there had long been a church in England, it was only after the Reformation that there was a Church of England.

ENGLISH ABBEY FALLEN INTO DECAY SINCE THE DISSOLUTION

The Reformation of Henry VIII's reign saw the breaking of every link in the chain binding England to Rome. Monasteries were dissolved without thought of either their beauty or utility. Rievaulx Abbey, founded by Walter l'Espec in 1131, and the earliest Cistercian house in Yorkshire, was surrendered in 1539 by Richard Blyton, the abbot. The site was granted to Thomas earl of Rutland, and later, by marriage, came into the possession of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

Photo, The Times

THE AMERICA OF AZTEC AND INCA

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TWO AMAZINGLY DEVELOPED CIVILIZATIONS OVERTHROWN BY THE SPANISH CONQUISTADORS

By THOMAS A. JOYCE

Sub-Keeper, Department of Ethnography, British Museum; Author of Maya and Mexican Archaeology, South American Archaeology, etc.

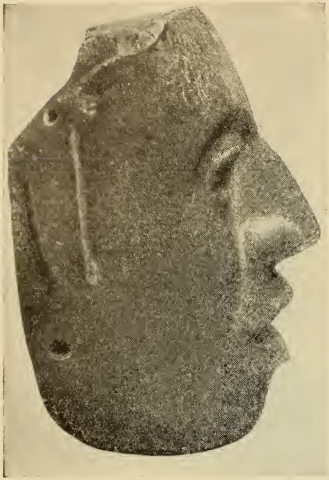
THE two peoples who played the dominant rôles at the time of the Spanish conquest were the Aztec in Mexico and Central America and the Inca in Peru (including Bolivia and most of Ecuador). Though it is not at all inconceivable that certain cultural elements may have passed by a sort of 'infiltration' from one to the other, yet it is certain that there was no direct communication between the two, and each was ignorant of the existence of the other.

The exact position of the Aztec in the development of indigenous American culture requires a word of comment. It has been explained in the chapter on American Origins that the evidence at our disposal seems to show that the Early Maya civilization spread to the Mexican Valley, where it was adopted by the Toltec, immigrants from the north. The Toltec were followed eventually by a whole series of immigrant tribes, speaking a common language, known as Nahuatl. These incursions eventually broke up the Toltec 'empire,' and gave rise to a series

SEAT AND CAPITAL CITY OF THE AZTEC REGIME IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO

In Chapter 88 there is a map giving the cultural divisions of pre-conquest America; in the present chapter our attention is concentrated on the same two regions there marked as having nurtured relatively advanced civilizations—Central America and the Peruvian coast. In the former, however, the center of interest shifts slightly northward from the Maya region to the Valley of Mexico (left), where the Aztec built their strange empire and their no less strange city on the waters of Lake Texcoco (right).

Right, after Maudslay, 'Conquest of New Spain,' Hakluyt Society



TYPES OF THE MEN WHO INHABITED MEXICO IN AZTEC TIMES

The custom of making masks of various hard stones—masks whose vigor of modeling removes them from the category of mere decorative art, though, since they usually represent gods, they cannot be classed as direct portraiture—has preserved a record of the type of men whom the Spaniards overcame in Mexico. The artists were probably of Toltec extraction, but Aztec influence is surely responsible for the quality of fierce simplicity by which they differ from earlier Toltec and Maya work.

British Museum; photos, 'The Studio' (left) and Beck and Macgregor

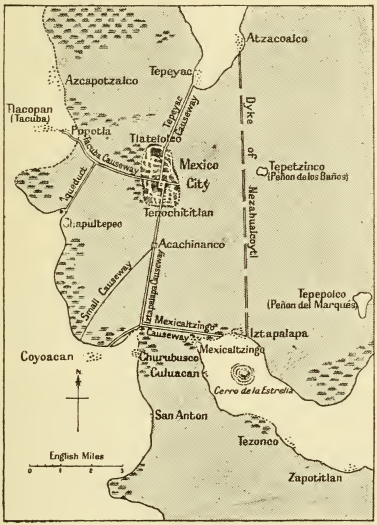
of dynasties in the Mexican Valley of which the last and most important was that of the Aztec. Thus, according to tradition, after the collapse of Toltec rule, the hegemony of the Valley was held by a Chichimec chief, Xolotl, who established himself at Tenayocan. Other immigrant bands of similar stock, Tepanec and Acolhua, settled in the Valley under his protection. It is worthy of notice that most of these immigrant chieftains allied themselves with women of old Toltec stock—a tacit admission of the previous sovereignty of the Toltec. And it is clear that chieftainship, though held only by men, was transferred through the female line among the later Aztec.

By the time that the Aztec appeared on the scene, the center of power had been transferred from Tenayocan to Texcoco. On the evidence of their own historical manuscripts the Aztec at the time of their arrival in Mexico were skin-clad nomads, practicing a little desultory agriculture, but ignorant of weaving and other arts and crafts characteristic of sedentary peoples. For a time they were subject to the rulers of Azcapotzalco, and it was not until a century and a half before the arrival of Cortés that they became independent and so laid the foundations of their future power. Their rapid rise to prominence in the politics of the Valley is probably due to their introduction of the bow as a weapon. But the Aztec brought more than the bow; they brought also a genius for political organization which enabled them to gather into a rather loose 'empire' not only all the tribes of the Valley but, eventually, many of regions far beyond.

At the time when they became independent, they were settled on an island in the Lake of Mexico (a great strategic position) on which their leaders had beheld the portent, long foretold, of an eagle perched on a cactus devouring a

snake, which they believed to indicate the seat of future power and glory. And in fact this island, named by them Tenochtitlan, became eventually the great city of Mexico, connected by stone-built causeways with the mainland, traversed by streets and waterways, and covered with buildings and pyramids which moved the admiration of the Spanish conquistadors.

But the rapid rise of the Aztec to prominence was somewhat hampered by internal dissensions. A group of mal-contents separated themselves from the main body and settled on a small island, immediately to the north of Tenochtitlan, called Tlaltelolco, and when, about the year 1376, Tenochtitlan elected a 'king' (Acamapitzin) to preside over the tribal council, Tlaltelolco elected a ruler of its own. For the next years the political history of the Mexican Valley consists in the struggle between the Tepanec of Azcapotzalco, aided by the Aztec, with the Acolhua of Texcoco. The Tepanec prevailed, but about 1430, in the reign of the fourth Aztec 'king,' hostilities broke out between the Tepanec and the Aztec, the result of which was the establishment of the Aztec as the dominant power in the Valley. The Aztec ruler at this time, Itzcoatl, was a man of singular acumen. In victory he saw the necessity of conciliation, and the terms which he arranged with his opponents and allies laid the foundations of Aztec 'empire.'



MEXICO IN AZTEC TIMES

The island city of Tenochtitlan, which after its union with Tlaltelolco was known as Mexico, stood amid the shallow waters of Texcoco, from whose inundations it was protected by a system of dykes. Causeways led to the mainland.

After Maudslay, 'Conquest of New Spain,' Hakluyt Society

His plan ostensibly was a confederation which should bring Aztec, Acolhua and Tepanec under a united policy; with that end in view he concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Texcoco and Tlacopan (the last a Tepanec city). In its inception it was a purely military alliance, the terms of which provided for the division of spoils in the proportion of two-fifths to Mexico City, two-fifths to Texcoco and one-fifth to Tlacopan. But Itzcoatl insisted that the direction of military policy should be in the sole hands of the ruler of Mexico. This last clause made Mexico paramount; because, as will be seen later, war was conducted on ceremonial lines, and was an integral part of the Nahuatl religion, indispensable to both men and gods. Too much stress can hardly be laid on this point, because it is necessary for the proper understanding of the real nature of the Aztec 'empire.'

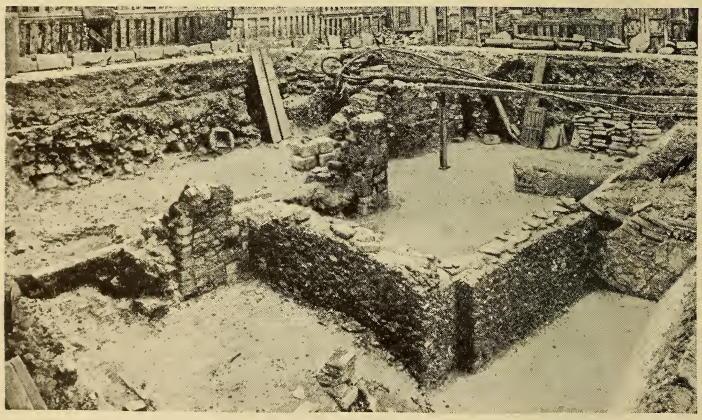
Mexico City became the Sparta of the Valley, but Texcoco became the Athens; its ruler, Nezahualcoyotl ('Hungry Wolf'), composed a code of laws which was regarded as a pattern of legislation; schools were established for the study of poetry, music, painting and astronomy, and the city was embellished by the construction of temples and gardens. The other towns of the Valley were brought under a loose control, with the sole exception of the

little republic of Tlaxcala, which to the end stood out against the Aztec domination, and eventually provided Cortés with invaluable assistance against its hereditary foe.

The next Mexican chief, Motecuzoma I (usually, but incorrectly, spelled Montezuma), extended Mexican influence far beyond the regions of the Valley. He sent military expeditions against the Huaxtec of the Panuco valley and the Totonac of Vera Cruz, and also, southward, to the Mixtec territory in Oaxaca. Further, at home, he constructed the great ten-mile dam across the Lake of Mexico as a protection for the city against floods. His successor, Axayacatl, extended Aztec influence as far as Tehuantepec and Soconusco, winning thereby a rich tribute from the tropical lowlands. Moreover, he abolished, by force of arms, the independence of Tlaltelolco, which henceforward became a suburb of Mexico city. Tizoc followed in 1469 and Auitzotl in 1482, and shortly after the latter date Aztec influence had extended to Chiapas and even Guatemala.

Motecuzoma II succeeded in 1502, when Aztec power was at its zenith. In the seventeen years before the arrival of Cortés he proved a worthy successor. Trained both as a warrior and a priest, he maintained and extended Aztec domination. It was unfortunate for him, and for his people, that his priestly training led him to adopt a fatally hesitating policy towards Cortés, the reason for which will be explained later.

In the matter of religion the Aztec showed an extraordinary catholicity; for particular reasons. They entered Mexico as nomadic hunters, under the personal leadership of a tribal god, Huitzilopochtli, a god of war and hunting and connected with the stars. In the Valley they encountered a sedentary agricultural population, skilled in the crafts of weaving, pottery, metallurgy and other technical processes which belong to sedentary life. This population was composite. Many of the crafts were associated with sections of the population which represented submerged elements of different tribes, still worshipping their own gods. In the course of time different gods had become permanently attached to certain occupa-

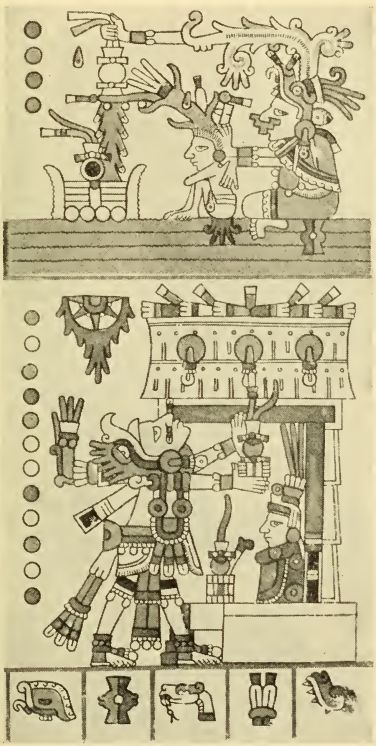


FOUNDATIONS OF AN AZTEC TEMPLE DESTROYED BY THE CONQUISTADORS

Mexico City was so thoroughly destroyed and rebuilt after the conquest that hardly a vestige of the Aztec capital remains above ground. Modern excavation, however, is succeeding in laying bare a few of the pre-Spanish foundations; the colossal stone snake's head carved in Toltec style is probably the finial of a balustrade flanking a stairway that led up a pyramid to the temple at the top.

tions. The war and hunting god of the Aztec invaders could know nothing of sedentary pursuits, so they were forced to adopt the worship of the local gods who presided over the various departments of the civilization which they eventually adopted and dominated. Notable among these were Tlaloc, the rain god, giver of fertility to the fields, and Quetzalcoatl, the old Toltec divinity (see Chap. 88) who presided over arts, crafts and the calendar. A rain god had been an important deity in Maya times due to droughts.

Tribal gods wax and wane with the fortunes of the tribe. The Aztec, while accepting the gods of the Valley, and later of other peoples whom they laid under tribute, nevertheless insisted on placing their own tribal god Huitzilopochtli at the head of the pantheon. But they were cautious; they never interfered with the religion of tribes whom they laid under tribute, and even when the famous pyramid in Mexico City was erected by Auitzotl, a shrine to Tlaloc was built alongside the shrine to Huitzilopochtli on the summit. But Huitzilopochtli, from a star god, became a sun god. The process of transition is obscure.



COMPLEX AZTEC PANTHEON

The Aztec worshipped many gods. This portion of the Féjerváry-Mayer MS. shows the maize plant as a sprouting human figure under the protection of the water goddess (top), and a god offering incense at his own shrine.

Liverpool Museum

But under the later Aztec regime sun worship assumed enormous importance, because it became associated with war. The connection arose, apparently, from a Nahuatl tradition that the sun, as a fertility god and regulator of the calendar, needed human blood to sustain him on his daily task.

The victims of war or sacrifice went direct to the sun god's paradise in the east, whence they accompanied him (now identified as Huitzilopochtli) to the zenith, where their task ended and they returned to earth in the guise of birds of brilliant plumage. From the zenith to his setting he was escorted by the souls of women who had died in child-birth (regarded as a warrior death), who then reappeared on earth as moths. During the night he traversed the underworld, giving light to those unfortunates whose exit from this world had no ceremonial significance. This dim and rather uncongenial 'Hades' was ruled by the death god Mictlantecuhtli, but there was still another 'paradise,' that of the pre-Aztec rain god Tlaloc, reserved for those who died by drowning or of dropsical affections.

The great variety of gods in the Mexi-

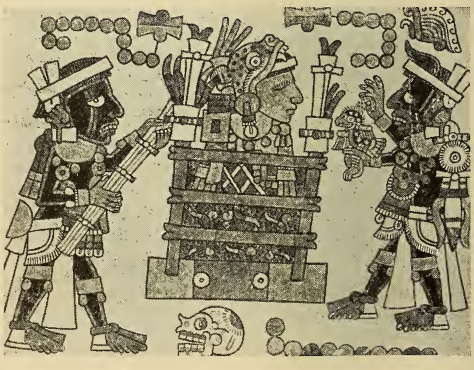
TLALOC THE RAIN GOD

The gods of the conquered Mexican Valley were added to the Aztec pantheon, especially those of agriculture and the arts. One such was the rain god Tlaloc, here seen pouring water over a chief in token of protection.
British Museum, Zouche Codex

can pantheon, and their functions and particular ceremonial, belong to specialist literature; but there was one deity, common to all the Nahuatl tribes, who requires mention. This was the sky god (also a night god) Tezcatlipoca, lord of wizardry, creator and punisher, and the 'Jupiter' of the Mexican Olympus. His name is introduced here, because the ceremonies held in his honor seem to have been the most important of the yearly festivals. Religious festivals were celebrated in accordance with the calendar, and were invariably associated with some form of sacrifice.

To take the question of calendar first. The Aztec calendar was a simplified form of the Maya calendar (see Chapter 88), and contained the same two elements, which ran concurrently and coincided once in fifty-two years: the ritual 'calendar round' of 260 days, and the solar 'round' of 365 days divided into 18 months of 20 days each and five unlucky days at the end of the year. The 260-day round appears to have been an earlier reckoning, and was carefully observed in daily life. Every day according to its sign and number had its especial 'luck.' Every day, likewise, had its day god and night god, whose attributes gave a certain color to the luck of the day. The number, sign and gods, therefore, associated with the day on which a child was born were supposed to provide a kind of horoscope, indicating the bent and future fate of the infant. This ritual calendar, known as the Tonalmatl, also provided hints respecting daily life.

The eighteen months of the solar calendar were signalised by eighteen festivals, with their appropriate sacrifices, of which the various rituals observed are so expressive of the ideas underlying the religion of Aztec Mexico that one or two instances may be given here. Take, for instance, the great feast of the month Toxcatl, held in honor of the high god Tezcatlipoca. This ceremony was regarded as vital to the community. Each year a young man, of perfect physique,



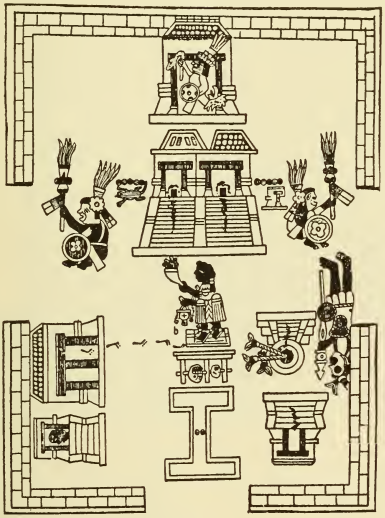
FUNERAL PYRE OF AN AZTEC CHIEF

As shown by this manuscript drawing of a corpse on a pyre to which a priest sets light with a torch, the Aztec themselves practised cremation; though the pre-Aztec rite of burial was retained for those who met their death by drowning, and so went to the paradise of the rain god Tlaloc.
British Museum, Zouche Codex

was selected as the representative of the god. For the year he lived in divine state, the vehicle of the creator spirit, until, in the month Toxcatl, he was sacrificed, and the divine spirit was transferred to another predestined victim. The idea was that the physical vehicle of the divine spirit must not be allowed to become impaired by the advance of age, and the annual sacrifice of the terrestrial representative ensured perpetual youth to the god-on-earth.

Again, one of the most revolting of Mexican sacrifices in our eyes occurred at the great feast to the god Xipe in the month Tlacaxipeualiztli. Xipe was not an Aztec god, but had been adopted from tribes lying to the west of the Mexican Valley. The victims at his feast were prisoners of war, and after their hearts had been torn out on the sacrificial stone they were flayed and the flayed skins were worn by their respective captors for the duration of the ceremony. At the conclusion of the feast, which lasted for several days, the wearers of the skins discarded them in unison, and the relics were buried in a pit outside the city. Xipe was the god of budding vegetation, a fertility god. The participants in the ceremony, clad in the skins of the victims, represented winter vegetation, apparently dead, but containing within the germ of life. The final discarding of the skins was a magical ceremony, believed not only to represent, but to assist the resurrection of food plants.

Regarded in this light, as a symbolical, magical rite, the ceremony is robbed of much of its horror. In fact, every sacrifice had its symbolical aspect. The female victims offered at the festivals of the fertility goddesses were decapitated after their hearts had been torn out; the process represented the cutting of a maize cob and was believed, magically, to ensure a rich harvest. The child victims offered to the rain god, Tlaloc, were encouraged to weep on their journey to the place of sacrifice, in the belief that their tears were an augury of a plenteous rainfall.



CHIEF TEMPLE OF THE AZTEC

In default of extant ruins, eye-witnesses' descriptions of the great pyramid and twin shrines of Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc in Mexico can only be supplemented by this plan in the manuscript of Sahagun, probably from an Aztec source.
From Maudslay, 'Conquest of New Spain,' Hakluyt Society

Yet, throughout, the fundamental principle of Aztec sacrifice was the offering of human hearts, regarded as necessary for the sustenance of the gods, especially of the sun god with whom their tribal god, Huitzilopochtli, was now identified. The ancient Maya, as recorded in Chapter 88, made blood sacrifices, drawing the divine offering from the tongue or ears. The Aztec heart sacrifice was an extension of this idea, but grew to almost incredible proportions. For instance, Aztec manuscripts record that at the dedication of the great temple to Huitzilopochtli in the reign of Auitzotl no fewer than twenty thousand human victims were laid on the sacrificial stone.

The growing need for human victims had a marked effect not only on Mexican psychology but also on Mexican politics.

GODDESS OF RUNNING WATERS

It was not only the gods of their immediate predecessors that the Aztec adopted, but those of several submerged strata of population; resulting in a deity for every branch of life. This is Chalchiuhtlicue, goddess of running waters.

British Museum

The great majority of the victims were prisoners taken in war; death on the sacrificial stone was pre-eminently the death of the fighting man, and ensured immediate entrance to the most desirable paradise. Instances are recorded of warriors who have demanded to be sacrificed for fear lest, dying in their beds, their future destination should be the colorless underworld ruled by the god Mictlantecuhtli. For this reason war, under the Aztec regime, was a highly ceremonial matter. The primary endeavor of every warrior was not the destruction of the enemy but the capture of prisoners for sacrifice, and on this his rise through the various ranks depended. Further, the necessity for sacrificial victims led the Aztec to exercise a very loose control over the tribes whom they laid under tribute. They almost encouraged revolt, because war had become a religious necessity and peace within their so-called 'empire' would have been a religious disaster. This fact, on more than one occasion, proved the salvation of the Spanish invaders, because the Aztec fought, not to kill, but to capture.

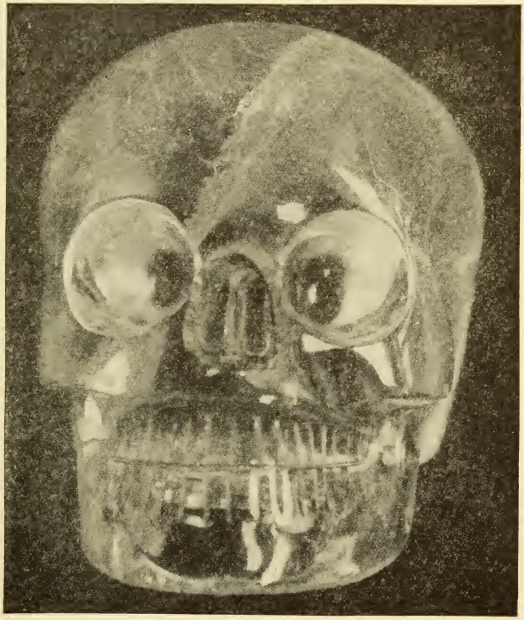
Sacrifice was occasionally accompanied by a limited cannibalism, certain officiators partaking of the flesh of the victim. The idea of 'eating the god' (and in many ceremonies the victim was identified with the god) is common to many peoples, and the Aztec were certainly not cannibals in the wider sense. The rite was purely ceremonial, an act of communion, which put mankind in direct touch with celestial powers. To one god, Quetzalcoatl, the Mexican version of the Maya deity Kukulkan, human victims were never offered, a further indication that human sacrifice was a comparatively late development.

XOCHIPILLI, GOD OF FLOWERS

A striking feature of Aztec psychology was a love of flowers—pyramids of roses were one of the offerings presented to Cortés on his landing —so that it is not surprising to find Xochipilli, a specialized deity of flowers and feasting.

British Museum

The peculiar position of Quetzalcoatl in the Mexican pantheon needs a little explanation, because the beliefs current with regard to this deity, by a peculiar coincidence, facilitated the journey of Cortés from the coast to the Valley of Mexico. He was regarded as the patron of civilized arts and science, which he had revealed personally to mortals during an extended residence on earth. Tradition described him as white-skinned and bearded, and when he finally departed, sailing eastward over the Atlantic in a serpent-skin boat, he promised to return in a certain year. According to Mexican dating, the years were known by the numeral and sign of the first day, and the same numeral and sign occurred in combination every fifty-two years. It so happened that Cortés, with his companions, white-skinned and bearded, arrived on the coast in a year of this particular denomination.



GRIM REALISM: THE SKULL OF TEZCATLIPOCA

Huitzilopochtli dominated the Mexican pantheon as the tribal god of the Aztec; but they also recognized a supreme creator God, Tezcatlipoca, in whose honor the chief yearly ceremony was held. He was not only a sky god but a night god, which explains the association with death evident in this skull of rock crystal.

British Museum; photo, Beck and Macgregor

Motecuzoma, paramount chief at the time, had been trained not only as a warrior but as a priest, and the arrival of these strangers in the year of prophecy bewildered him and led him to adopt a vacillating policy. In spite of his protests they insisted on coming to Mexico. Motecuzoma was in a quandary. During their long and arduous march from the coast to the Valley of Mexico he could certainly, with the resources at his disposal, have overwhelmed the small body of invaders, but he dared not oppose by force the progress of these might-be gods who met his commands with a disregard which appeared almost divine in its assurance. Arrived on the plateau, the Spaniards acquired the aid of the people of Tlaxcala, who included a strong Toltec element and had long resisted Aztec domination. The prophecy enabled Cortés to reach Mexico; Aztec military policy, which aimed at preserving enemies against whom to fight rather than imposing peace, provided Cortés with native allies from those tribes who still held out; and Aztec religion, which insisted on the importance of the capture of prisoners alive, on more than one oc-

AZTEC CALENDAR STONE

The derivative nature of Mexican civilization is shown especially by their calendar, which was a simplified form of the Maya system described in Chapter 88. The twenty day-signs of the 260-day period were discovered in 1790 carved on this immense circular fragment, with the face of the sun god in the center.

Mexico National Museum; photo, C. B. Waite

casion saved the Spaniards from extermination.

But though Aztec power was, in the main, founded on a military basis, backed by a strong religious sanction, the rapid spread of Aztec influence was dependent to a great degree on a peculiar form of trade. Mexican industrial life was organized in a series of 'guilds,' gold workers, feather workers, potters and so forth, admission to which, save by hereditary right, was a very difficult matter. These guilds worshipped their own particular gods and performed their own private ceremonies; in fact, as remarked above, many of them represented submerged tribal groups which had become incorporated in the Aztec 'empire.' Of these, politically by far the most important were the guilds of wandering merchants, the so-called Pochteca.

These guilds possessed special privileges, being exempt from agricultural labor and also from the normal judicial system, delinquents being judged by their own headmen. Their journeys often involved years of absence, many inconvenient 'taboos' and a careful study of the calendar with its lucky and unlucky days. 'Accidents' would happen in newly explored or hostile regions, but the death of a Pochteca was rarely unavenged, and the inevitable military raid resulted in further booty for the Mexican treasury and more human hearts for the Mexican gods.

The rich resources which eventually flowed into Mexico as trade, tribute and plunder, supplemented by the intensive development of arts and crafts at home under the guild system,

MASK OF A VEGETATION GOD

Xipe was the deity—of budding vegetation—for whom the most gruesome of the Aztec ceremonies was held, involving the wearing by the priests of the flayed skins of sacrificed victims. This mask is carved from volcanic stone.

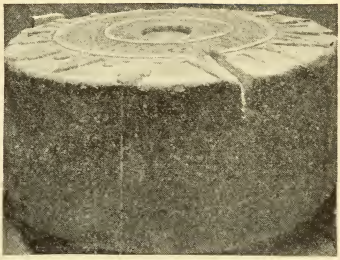
British Museum; photo, Beck and Macgregor

brought the city to a high pitch of opulence in the sixteenth century.

Although the material life of Mexico was based on intensive agriculture (primarily the cultivation of maize), yet industrial development was highly organized. The markets in the larger towns particularly attracted the attention of the earliest visitors.

In trade, money, as we understand it, was not used. Certain articles such as textiles, maize, quills of gold dust, cacao beans and so forth constituted a rough-and-ready medium of exchange. Operations were supervised by magistrates who settled disputes on the spot, and there were certain officials who corresponded to modern inspectors of weights and measures. The resources of the Aztec 'empire' are fully reflected in the account of a ceremonial dance, performed by men and women of the warrior class, described by the Franciscan missionary Sahagun ten years after Cortés entered Mexico city. The account further affords an excellent idea of the clothing and ornaments worn by the 'upper middle class' on festive occasions:

The women wore rich and costly garments adorned with intricate embroidery; some being of white cloth with elaborate designs in needlework. The under-robes, of white cloth, were sometimes without patterns, but deep fringes bordered the neck opening, hanging down over the breast, as well as the lower edge of the garment. The hair of these women was loose, confined only by a fillet which passed from the forehead to the back of the neck. Their faces were smooth and clean, devoid of ornament. The men were dressed as richly, in cotton mantles of a mesh so wide that it might almost be called a net. Those who were recognized 'braves,' and possessed the right of wearing a stud in the lower lip, wore cloaks edged with small white



FOR THE VICTIMS' HEARTS

After the hearts of victims had been torn out they were deposited in vessels called 'quauhxicalli,' of which this, with its depression in the center, is probably a great replica in stone for use in the most important sacrifices.

Mexican National Museum; photo, C. B. Waite

GRUESOME SACRIFICES DEMANDED BY THE GODS OF THE AZTEC

Every month of the solar calendar had its festival at Mexico City in honor of the god of that month, together with the prescribed form of sacrifice. On the left the victim is lashed to a frame and a hideously-masked priest has transfixed him with a spear propelled from a spear-thrower; note the victim's tears, of ritual significance. On the right the heart is being torn from the cavity of the breast through a gash made with an obsidian knife.

British Museum, Zouche Codex

shells; while those less distinguished wore plain fringed cloaks of black. Ear studs of various metals were worn by all the men, the nobles displaying ornaments of copper with gold pendants in their lips as well as in their ears. The lip studs were in the form of small dogs, or lizards, or two small squares of metal. Young warriors who had distinguished themselves in battle wore a large disk in the lower lip with four smaller disks arranged cross-wise about it. The youngest of all wore a single plain disk. . . . Commoner folk wore as decoration a kind of chaplet, yellow in color, and made of objects from the coast of small worth; and such men as had taken a captive in battle displayed on their heads, as a token, an ornament of plumes. Feather decorations also were worn on the back by captains of notable courage . . . and all wore face paint applied in a variety of designs. Some had circles on the cheeks, with stripes run-

INTRICATE RITUAL OF A MEXICAN MARRIAGE CEREMONY

With ruthless thoroughness the Spanish ecclesiastics destroyed almost every Mexican manuscript on which they could lay their hands. Of the few that survive, the Féjerváry-Mayer Codex is probably the earliest, to judge from its style which has vague Maya affinities (a portion is reproduced in page 1911), and the Mendoza Codex the most interesting historically, since it was composed shortly after the Spanish Conquest, outlines the career of the Aztec and links their chronology with our own.

British Museum—

ning across the forehead from temple to temple, painted with a black pigment covered with iron pyrites. Others showed the stripe extending to the ears, while others again were adorned with a stripe running from the base of the ear to the mouth.

As regards the city itself, it was destroyed so utterly that the accounts of the early eye-witnesses are virtually our only source of information. The twin islands of Tenochtitlan and Tlaltelolco were little more than low-lying swamps when the Aztec first settled there in rude pile-built dwellings of reed and sun-dried brick. In course of time the building of the great dam across the lake and the construction of causeways brought about a fall in the level of the lake and an

AS PORTRAYED IN A RICHLY ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPT

But the Zouche Codex, probably Zapotec, is the most magnificent. Its drawing is harder and more angular than the Maya, but has a wonderfully decorative sense of line, while the coloring (see plate facing page 1920) is superb. It is painted on deer skin covered with a white slip, and shows on one side the exploits of a chieftain whose ritual name was Eight Deer. This scene from the other side is the marriage ceremony between a chief called Twelve Wind and a lady of rank, Three Knife.

—*Zouche Codex*

extension of the dry land; but at the time of the conquest Mexico was still a sort of Venice, intersected by canals, which were the highways of traffic.

The ceremonial buildings were of stone; temples and shrines erected on lofty pyramids, usually at the eastern end of a court, in accordance with the

TRIBUTE THAT SWELLED THE IMPERIAL TREASURY OF 'MONTEZUMA'

Aztec wealth at the Conquest may be inferred from this portion of the Mendoza Codex showing the tribute of subject cities to Motecuzoma II. The upper rows give a ceremonial costume with featherwork bird, featherwork shields and two embroidered mantles with the 'fir-tree' glyph meaning 400. Next come strings of gold and jadeite beads, lip studs and incense balls; and lastly bundles of different plumes, a jar of liquidambar and a sack of cacao. The 'banner' signs means 20, and the 'pouch-with-tassels' signs 8,000. Each item has had an explanation added in Spanish.

Bodleian Library, Mendoza Codex

old Maya tradition. The Great Pyramid of Mexico City, crowned by the two temples (apparently constructed chiefly of wood), to Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc, was built in five tiers of masonry, with a base over a hundred yards square. A flight of more than a hundred steps on the west side gave access to the summit, and the two shrines stood on the eastern edge of the upper platform, faced by the stone of sacrifice. The great court below measured some 300 by 350 yards, and was enclosed by a wall with carved ornament representing snakes. Within the court were other shrines dedicated to various gods, and the 'tzompantli,' the frame on which the skulls of the sacrificial victims were stored.

ADORNMENT OF AZTEC MEN AND WOMEN

The figures of a woman (left) and a chief in a Mexican manuscript confirm what we are told by the contemporary Franciscan missionary, Father Bernadino de Sahagun, that whereas the men wore face paint in a variety of designs the women usually kept their faces bare of such ornament.

British Museum, Zouche Codex

The houses of the chiefs were spacious, built of stone and lime on terraced foundations. The buildings usually enclosed a court, and there was a garden attached where the girls of the household could walk under the supervision of duennas. Some were built in two stories, and the roofs of the best residences were flat and ornamented with battlements.

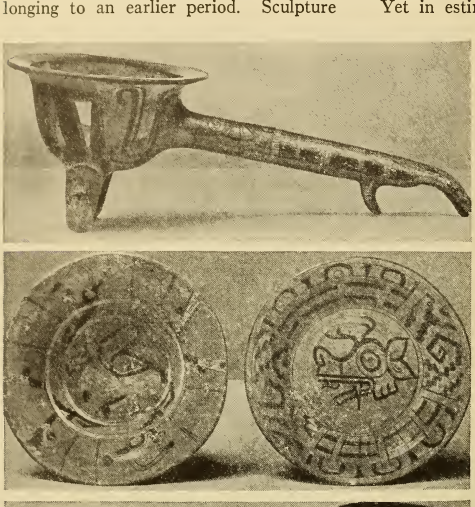
Aztec sculpture has a peculiar quality

AZTEC LIP STUDS AND THE OPERATION OF PIERCING THE NOSE

Ornaments permanently fixed to the face were much affected in Aztec times, all with definite religious, tribal, social or military significance. The objects on the left are lip studs, of obsidian save for the curved example, which is shell; these had a variety of meanings, but ornaments through the septum of the nose were reserved for warriors of proven valor. One such, Eight Deer (the deer's head with eight circles attached gives his name), is having his nose pierced on the right.

British Museum and Zouche Codex

of its own. Though it was based on Maya traditions, received through the Toltec, and though lapidary work was in the hands of tribes who were in the main of Toltec stock, there is little difficulty in differentiating between the carvings of Aztec times and those belonging to an earlier period. Sculpture of the Aztec period shows in certain respects a superior technique, especially in dealing with hard stones. Artistic expression becomes simplified, in most cases much cruder, and in a sense far 'fiercer.' The advance in technical achievement is accompanied by a more 'primitive' method of expression, which in most cases produces a mechanical effect; but in the masterpieces of the period the conventionalized simplicity is relieved by an underlying subtlety of modelling which at any rate compares very favorably with the sculptures of ancient Egypt.



POTTERY OF THE AZTEC AND THEIR SUBJECTS

The Aztec themselves were no great potters, but imported their finest ware from the Toltec center of Cholula, where the older artistic traditions were carried on; compare the bottom row here (native Aztec from Mexico City) with the three Cholula specimens above. The topmost object is a censer.

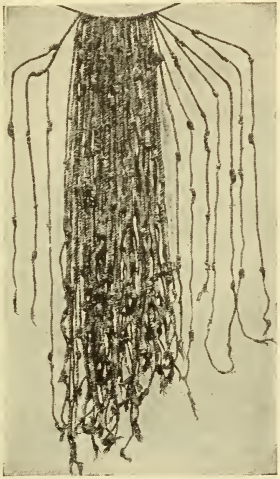
British Museum

Yet in estimating the position of the Aztec in the history of world culture it must be remembered that they were neither artists nor artisans. Their genius lay in organization. The artists and craftsmen, weavers, potters, gold workers, scribes were in the main folk of Toltec descent and were maintained in their hereditary professions. The pottery vessels in daily use on the tables of the Aztec nobles, even of the great Motecuzoma himself, were made in Cholula (a former Toltec center where the most important temple to Quetzalcoatl was situated) because it was infinitely superior, both in technical and artistic qualities, to the ware of the Aztec clay workers.

It is impossible to deal in detail with the organized life of the inhabitants of Mexico City; but, in illustration of the systematic rules which governed the life of the population at large, a few words may be said about the education of children. The Mendoza Codex, mentioned above, illustrates the training which boys and girls received at the hands of their parents from the ages of three to fifteen. Here are recorded the tasks, punishments and food ration suited to children according to age and sex, and Sahagun quotes the moral lectures which were delivered to them by their mentors. Provision was also made for secondary education

There were two great public institutions, the Telpochcalli and the Calmecac. The first corresponded to the ordinary 'public school,' and was devised to give the young lad the training which should make him a good warrior. It was under the direct protection of Tezcatlipoca, and the regime, partly religious, was rigorous, commencing with the severest form of 'fagging' in menial occupations. The Calmecac provided the training for the children of the upper classes, destined for the priesthood and higher military and government appointments. This institution was under the protection of Quetzalcoatl, and the course was even more severe, involving the practice of fasting and other penitential rites.

Girls also were admitted to this establishment, where they were trained as priestesses, a vocation which involved perpetual virginity. But the initial steps were not vital, because a girl wishing to marry could be released on payment of compensation, and many entered the establishment in the hope that a term of service to the gods would be requited with the reward of a good husband.



PERUVIAN QUIPPU

Unlike the Central Americans, the Peruvians had evolved no form of script; but used systems of knotted cords called 'quippu' as a kind of memoria technica for messages and accounts.

British Museum

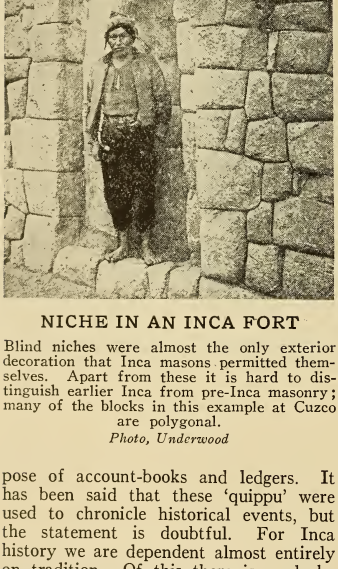
At the time of the conquest the Maya, originally the pioneers of Central American culture, had suffered a decline. The great architectural complexes in the central area had been deserted, and even the 'cities' erected in Yucatan in the Late Maya period were falling into decay. Some six centuries before the arrival of Cortés Yucatan was under the stable government provided by the union of three ruling houses, the Itzá at Chichén-Itzá, their close relatives, the Tutul-Xiu, at Uxmal, and the Cocom at Mayapan. Though the Xiu and Itzá seem originally to have been the more powerful tribes, the Cocom appear to have been the chief power in the League of Mayapan, as it is called. Two centuries later dissensions broke out, in which the Cocom, by the aid of Toltec mercenaries, were the victors. These Toltec, as the price of their assistance, were given Chichén-Itzá, and the later buildings at this site afford abundant evidence of their characteristic art. The effect of their presence in Yucatan went further; the bow became the principal weapon, cremation was introduced and human sacrifice became a frequent feature of Yucatec ritual. But the break-up of the League sounded the death knell of Late Maya culture.

Maize culture, hunting and bee keeping were still the main occupations of the population. Head deformation was still practiced. The worship of the old gods was still maintained, though a great deal of Mexican ritual had been introduced. And a simplified form of the Early Maya calendar, more intricate than that of the Aztec, was still observed. But the Maya were no longer a power, and though Valdivia, Grijalva and Cortés met with opposition when they first landed in Yucatan the occupation of the Maya lands followed, as a necessary consequence, the subjugation of Mexico.

At the time of the expedition of Pizarro to South America the predominant power was the Inca of Peru, whose domination extended from Quito in Ecuador to the northern regions of the Argentine Republic and Chile. Like the Aztec, they were the inheritors of an earlier civilization, and their conquests were under-

taken in the name of religion, but their external policy was entirely different. War was only the means to an end, the end being the firm establishment of a great communistic theocracy, secured by a rigid framework of laws and regulations, within which war, dissension and even controversy had no place whatever.

Inca history is less definite than that of the Aztec, because no form of script, even of a pictographic nature, was known to the Peruvians. The only form of record consisted in an elaborate system of knotted cords, which served the purpose of account-books and ledgers. It has been said that these 'quippu' were used to chronicle historical events, but the statement is doubtful. For Inca history we are dependent almost entirely on tradition. Of this there is no lack; many of the earliest explorers and missionaries have left records of Inca history which they obtained from the natives, and one account which has survived is of particular interest. This is the relation of Garcilasso de la Vega, son of one of Pizarro's lieutenants and a granddaughter of a ruling Inca.



NICHE IN AN INCA FORT

Blind niches were almost the only exterior decoration that Inca masons permitted themselves. Apart from these it is hard to distinguish earlier Inca from pre-Inca masonry; many of the blocks in this example at Cuzco are polygonal.

Photo, Underwood

As a child he was brought up by his mother, and was for years in direct contact with the surviving nobles who had known the Inca regime in its prime. His account is invaluable, but it is evidently colored by the desire to glorify his mother's people. On the other hand, the careful history of Sarmiento, who received an official commission to prepare it, is even more tendentious, because he was expected to show that the Inca were usurpers and oppressors, and that, in consequence, the Spanish conquest was an act of liberation. The truth lies somewhere between the two, but, in the light of the great prosperity of the Inca country at the time of the discovery, probably nearer to Garcilasso than to Sarmiento.

All traditions agree that the Inca tribe entered Peru from the south, coming probably from the Bolivian highlands, and settled at Cuzco. Their leader was Manco Ccapac, their tribal god was the sun, and the history of their journey is replete with incidents of a miraculous character which place it in the sphere rather of mythology than of history. It was an ancient prophecy that when the golden staff carried by their leader sank into the ground, there the Inca should find a home and dominion, and it was fulfilled at Cuzco.

Manco was regarded as the original leader, but it is hard to place him in history. It is possible that Manco was a legendary figure, belonging to the first introduction of culture into the Cuzco district under the older megalithic 'empire' described in Chapter 88. Rocca was the first chief to bear the title of Sapa Inca, and it was under his rule that the city of Cuzco was rebuilt in Inca style, and the Inca began to make their power felt over the surrounding tribes.

At this period the highlands of Peru seem to have been inhabited by series of independent tribes, worshipping different tribal gods but observing similar religious rites and social customs. Rocca was followed as ruler by Lloque Yupanqui, Mayta Ccapac and Ccapac Yupanqui, whose reigns saw the consolidation of Inca power in and around the Cuzco valley, and an extension of the nascent 'empire' southwards into the Bolivian

highlands. The next two chieftains, Rocca II and Yahuarhaccac consolidated the ascendancy gained by their predecessors in this direction, and even undertook expeditions eastward, to the fringe of the Amazonian forest.

But the real commencement of the rise of the Inca as a great power belongs to the next two reigns, of Uiracocha and Pachacuti. The Inca were not the only tribe of highlanders to lay the foundation of possible empire. To the west and northwest had arisen a powerful confederation dominated by the Chanca people. A collision was inevitable. The Chanca invaded Cuzco, and a great battle was fought outside the city in which the Inca, supported by troops from their newly acquired territories in the south, achieved a signal victory. This event had very far-reaching consequences. The Inca realm was increased by a large area, well organized on, apparently, exactly the same lines. For this reason incorporation into the growing Inca state was simple, since it involved no material change in the life of the population as a whole. On the other hand, the Inca received a tremendous impulse towards imperial ideas and, from this moment, began to assume the position of a ruling caste rather than that of a paramount tribe.

Pachacuti appears to have remodelled the Inca social and governmental system

AUSTERE STRENGTH AND SUBLIME SURROUNDINGS OF MACHU PICCHU

Coming from the south, the Inca seem to have settled in Cuzco towards the beginning of the twelfth century, and as their power began to expand their first care was to fortify the approaches to their capital city and then the country farther afield. Some fortresses, such as cyclopean Ollantaitambo, they found ready-made by their megalithic predecessors, whose culture is described in Chapter 88; but the stupendous fortress-town of Machu Picchu is almost wholly the work of their own hands.

Photo, Hiram Bingham—Copyright in America by 'National Geographic Magazine'

PERUVIAN OBSERVATORY OF INCA TIMES

The temple and observatory at Pisac where the solstices were calculated from the shadows of upright pillars observed at noon; the circular building in the background is known as the Intihuatana.

Photo, Ernest Peterffy

in the light of new political responsibilities. His successors, Tupac Yupanqui and Huayna Ccapac, by periodical military campaigns, carefully planned, punctuated by intervals devoted to peaceful consolidation, gradually extended the Inca power until, shortly before the Spanish conquest, it reached from Quito in Ecuador, throughout the whole of Peru and the Bolivian highlands, to the river Maule in Chile, including also the northwestern provinces of the Argentine Republic—a territory comprising more than thirty-five degrees of latitude.

In the high country Inca progress was not difficult. The political system (based on the psychological tendency of the native Peruvian towards discipline) not only enabled the Inca rulers to concentrate great forces of men on a definite objective, but, in itself, was not distasteful to the conquered peoples. It was the coast which provided the greatest opposition, because, here, the religious question became acute. The coastal region of the northern half of Peru had been the site of a civilization, as described in Chapter 88, of a very high standard, known as proto-Chimu, the pottery remains of which are unsurpassed in the history of 'primitive' man.

The difficulties which the Inca encountered in the reduction of these valleys were based in the main on climatic conditions. Rain on the coast falls only about once in six years, and the life of the population was one long struggle against drought. The sun, therefore, whose worship the Inca insisted on imposing on their subjects, was no benefactor here, but rather an enemy, and the coast folk fought hard to preserve their independence. The hot climate, moreover, proved very trying to the invading troops; and it was only after a long series of campaigns, during which the Inca succeeded in capturing the sources of water supply in the mountains, that the coast became incorporated in the Inca empire.

To the east and south-east the forested regions proved an insuperable barrier to the Inca arms, and expeditions in this direction proved unsuccessful. Also, south of the river Maule in Chile, the fierce Araucanian nomads successfully maintained their independence. But in

the reign of Huayna Ccapac, who died only very shortly before the arrival of Pizarro, the whole of the highland and coastal strip from Quito to the Maule had become an organized political whole.

The system which was devised for the control of this enormous territory was, as has been said above, a rigid form of state socialism, based on belief that the ruling Inca was a god on earth, whose ordinances were therefore invested with a divine sanction. Money did not exist in Peru, and 'taxes' were paid in the form of personal labor.

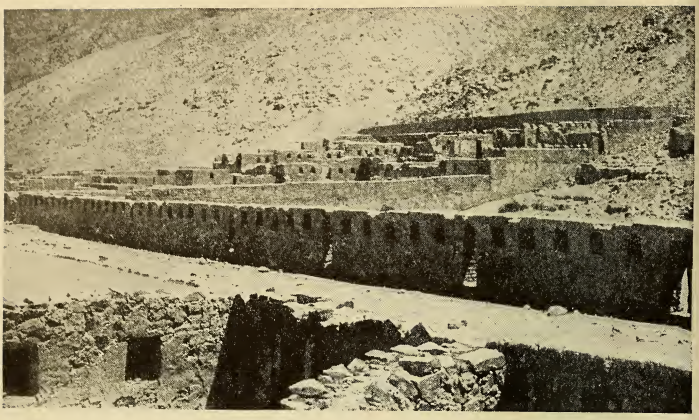
Peruvian civilization was based ultimately on agriculture, and no man was exempt from agricultural labor, or from military service, except by special privilege. Weaving and spinning were matters of common knowledge, but mining, metallurgy and stone work were in the hands of selected artisans.

A complicated hierarchy of overseers controlled the communal labor; an accurate census of the population enabled the higher officials to estimate the man power available in a given district; and certain drastic regulations provided for the distribution of labor according to the productive power of a given region. The Peruvian empire comprised every phase of climate: high mountain plateaus where only the potato and the small variety of buck-wheat (the quinoa) could grow; temperate and sub-tropical valleys, well-watered by carefully planned irrigation systems, where every hill-side was built up in series of stone terraces—mile upon mile of masonry containing-walls which provided beds for maize; and then the tropical coast, watered by aqueducts, which provided other produce suited to local conditions. The Inca system provided for a more or less equal distribution of food products over the whole empire. The produce of the crown lands, and all surplus crops, were gathered into official granaries, so that the maize of the lower valleys could be sent to the barren highlands for the support of the shepherd class that tended the flocks of llama and alpaca, or could be employed

LABORIOUSLY BUILT CULTIVATION TERRACES NEAR PISAC

Together with the aqueducts of the coast dwellers, the most marvelous engineering feats in Peru were the 'andenes' of the highlands. The latter are terraces, representing incalculable miles of masonry, built to prevent the soil of the mountain sides, on which the inhabitants depended for their agriculture, from being washed away by the rain. In fact, the highlanders 'built' their country.

Photo, Ernest Peterffy



MONUMENT OF INCA RULE OVER THE RAINLESS PERUVIAN COAST

The coast lands of Peru, irrigated by the aqueducts of the ingenious inhabitants, must have been infinitely more fertile and populous when the Inca conquered them than they are to-day; but the Inca, unlike their Spanish successors, though they cut the aqueducts to conquer the country took all pains to preserve its prosperity once conquered. A monument of this prosperity is the Inca palace (one of many) that stands finely preserved in the now scorched and barren valley of Pisco.

Photo, Mervyn Palmer

for relief in districts where crops had failed. So, too, with manufactures.

The system, besides an elaborate civil service of overseers, entailed facilities of communication and a very drastic treatment of the population at large. As regards the first, the Inca were wonderful road builders over the most impossible country; and along these roads were series of rest-houses tenanted by official runners (called 'chasqui'), who carried verbal messages from post to post, or handed from one to the other the bunch of knotted cords which constituted an official dispatch. The mountain roads in particular moved the admiration of the conquerors.

By means of the runner system, a message could be transmitted from Quito to Cuzco, over a thousand miles as the crow flies, through mountainous country, in eight days.

The maintenance of the communication system, and the system of distribution of products, necessitated an absolute control of the population; and this control existed in fact. With one exception, exercised at the discretion of the state, no member of the ordinary populace could rise from the estate in which he had been born, could move from his village or could marry outside his district; the whole regime was based on a complete surrender of individuality to government needs. Even the exception was dictated by imperial policy. In the organization of their empire the Inca found it advisable to transport whole sections of the population from one region to another; such colonists were known as 'mitimaes,' and the practice fulfilled a twofold purpose. In the first place an interchange of a large section of the population of two newly conquered regions, speaking different dialects, provided very efficiently against revolt; in the second place, by this means, combined with the system of food distribution, large districts in the uplands were populated with herdsmen who could not have existed there without supplementary supplies. Under the Inca regime there

was no poverty; but there was no chance of advancement. From a small tribe the Inca became a vast civil service, controlling the empire which they had built. Probably no other people in the world would accept the security of daily bread at the price.

Peruvian religion has always been associated with sun worship, simply because the Inca imposed their tribal god, the sun, on their tributaries; just as the Aztec enforced the worship of Huitzilopochtli. All evidence tends to prove that the inhabitants of this region of South America worshipped clan and tribal gods, many of them in the forms of birds and beasts—pumas, condors, snakes and the like. In many cases the god was regarded as the ultimate ancestor of the tribal or clan group, and it is possible that some form of totemism may have existed, though this has not yet been proved. Apart from the clan and tribal gods there were other, higher, divinities: gods associated with the sky and the creation of the universe, whose cult was rather of an esoteric nature.

The Inca showed the same catholicity as the Aztec. They made no effort to destroy local cults, but merely insisted that the worship of the sun, their tribal god, should take official precedence. Apart from this they were prepared to admit the sanctity of local shrines, and the temple of the oracular coastal god Rimac (the present Lima) was recognized as an important religious center up to the time of the Spanish invasion.

EMPIRE 2,700 MILES LONG

At its greatest extent—that is, under Huayna Ccapac just before the Spanish conquest—the Inca empire stretched from the Ancasmayu to the Maule: some 36° of latitude.

The attitude of the Peruvians towards the supernatural world is best expressed in their own word 'huaca.' There is no single word in English that provides an adequate translation. It means not only 'holy,' but also 'uncanny,' or merely 'strange.' The high gods were 'huaca'; so were the tribal and clan gods; also the personal fetishes (called 'conopa'); a man with a hare lip was 'huaca,' or a llama born with six legs; even a strangely shaped rock. The cult of tribal ancestors, often in animal form, brought burial grounds within the range of the term, which survives to-day inasmuch as the pots excavated from ancient cemeteries are locally known as 'huacas.'

Peruvian religion, based as it was on the worship of a tribal ancestor, naturally involved a respect for the dead. The arid atmosphere, both of the coast and the uplands, arrested decay, just as in Egypt. Professor Elliot Smith has shown how the idea of mummification arose in Egypt as the result of climatic conditions; similar circumstances produced similar results in Peru, although the elaborate processes of embalming never existed there. But there were occasions when the ancestral 'mummies' were paraded at festivals held in honor of the dead.

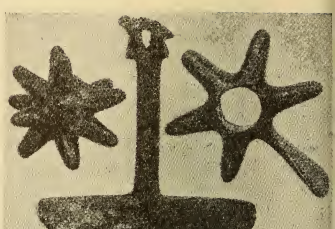
HOMES OF THE COAST DWELLERS

Forked poles of algarroba (carob) wood lightly roofed with beams and matting, as in the vase painting on the left, or more solid huts of adobe like the model on a vase, sufficed for dwellings on the stoneless Peruvian coast.

From Joyce, 'South American Archaeology'

The Inca regime, which provided for a proportional distribution of labor, proved an excellent foster-mother of arts and crafts. It is true that Inca masonry lacks the stupendous force of the older megalithic building, but the erections which survive, constructed of neat, rectangular stones, cut to size, accurately fitting without mortar, are perhaps the most perfect, from a technical point of view, which have ever been constructed by a people ignorant of iron. A fine example still exists in the apsidal end of the great Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, now incorporated in the cathedral of Santo Domingo.

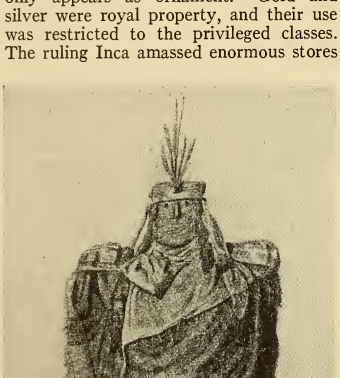
Copper was used, and though many of the copper implements and ornaments contain tin, and therefore are in fact bronze, it is doubtful whether the alloy was intentional or accidental. Gold was common, but since it is useless as a tool, only appears as ornament. Gold and silver were royal property, and their use was restricted to the privileged classes. The ruling Inca amassed enormous stores of the precious metals, in the form of utensils and ornaments. We read in the accounts of eye-witnesses of artificial gardens, with trees and plants 'in gold and silver, with their leaves, flowers and fruit; some just beginning to sprout, others half grown, others having reached maturity. They made fields of maize, with their leaves, canes, roots and flowers all exactly imitated. The beard of the maize head was of gold, and all the rest of silver, the parts being soldered together. They did the same with other plants, making the flower, or any part that was yellow, of gold, and the rest of silver.' The world has lost much in the fact that no single specimen of these works of primitive art escaped the conquistadors.



OBJECTS OF PERUVIAN COPPER

Copper and an accidental bronze were known to the Peruvians, though they must have been useless for the cutting of stone. Left to right: a weight for a bolas (or throwing-thong), a knife and a mace or axe-head.

British Museum



MUMMIFICATION IN PERU

Peruvian mummies, though never artificially embalmed as in Egypt, were often elaborately wrapped and sometimes made up in bundles of several bodies. This bundle from Ancon is topped by a false head with shell eyes and a wig.

After Reiss and Stubel, 'Necropolis of Ancon'

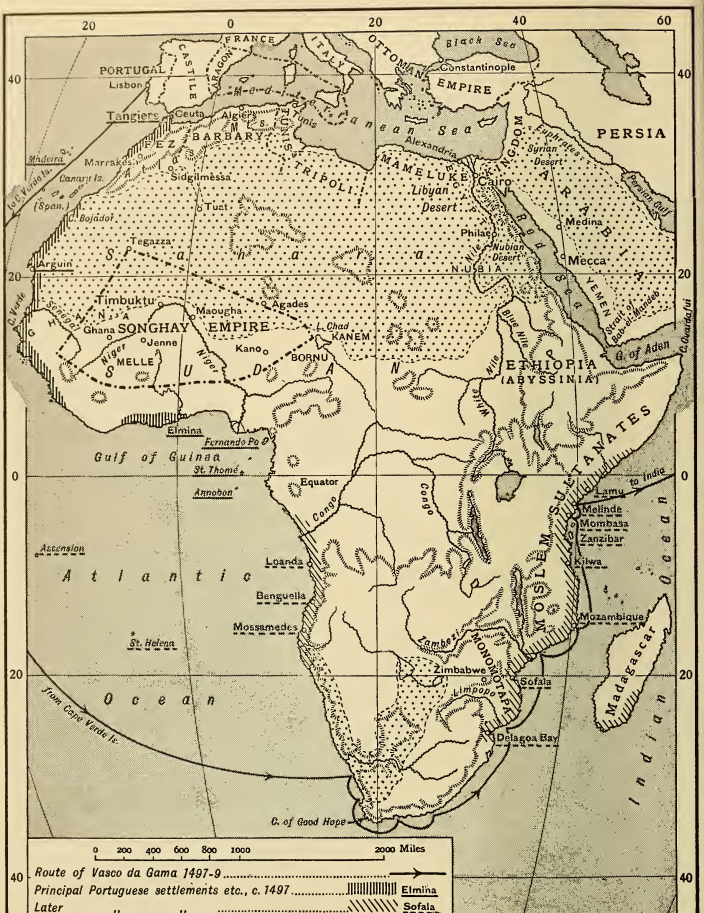
In the matter of textiles, tapestry, woven cloth and embroidery the Peruvian stood supreme. It has been said, with justice, that if the whole of the textile industry in the Old World were to disappear it could be recreated from the fabrics recovered from Peruvian graveyards. Ceramic art flourished equally: but the pottery of the Inca period, whether in coast or highland, though superior in technique, was certainly inferior in artistic qualities to that of the prehistoric period. The sense of form persists, the firing of the clay is superior, but color and ornament have sadly declined. It was the natural effect of mass production which from the artistic point of view, has ruined the ceramic art of Europe.

In Mexico, Cortés succeeded by the sheer accident that he arrived in a year which foretold the return of Quetzalcoatl. Pizarro, in Peru, was even more favored by chance. Huayna Ccapac had just died, and the legitimate heir was his son by his sister-wife, Huascar. But a pretender, Atahualpa, the son of a concubine of Ecuador, laid claim to the throne and, supported by levies from the Ecuadorian highlands, had raided Peru and captured Huascar. The whole country was in doubt in regard to the question who was the divine ruler. Pizarro by a sudden and treacherous move captured Atahualpa, and so obtained control of the whole of the over-organized Peruvian empire. The state socialism of the Peruvian regime was founded on the idea that the supreme ruler was a god on earth. His removal paralysed the whole system, and the enormous territory dominated by Cuzco fell like a ripe fruit into the hand of the unscrupulous Pizarro.

RITUAL DANCE OF MEN IMPERSONATING THEIR CLAN ANCESTORS

The basic religion of Peru, on which the Inca imposed their sun ritual, seems to have been clan-ancestor worship; even the sun was probably in origin the clan ancestor of the Inca. These ancestors, to which among many other things the term 'huaca' was applied, might be animate or inanimate—birds, beasts, rocks, heavenly bodies, even Lake Titicaca; and when we find men, as on this Truxillo vase, masked and garbed as various beasts, they are probably impersonating their huacas.

From Joyce, 'South American Archaeology'



GENERAL MAP OF AFRICA IN THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

While Mediterranean North Africa and the eastern side of the continent had been subject to Asiatic penetration from a very early date, Africa south of the desert barrier was unknown land to Europeans until the end of the fifteenth century. The early Portuguese explorers, extending their trade settlements round the coast, found four main areas of organized human life: the Songhay Empire in the western Sudan, the Bantu Empire of Monomotapa, the Moslem sultanates from the Zambezi to Cape Guardafui, and Abyssinia.

AFRICA IN THE DAYS OF VASCO DA GAMA

SURVEY OF ONE OF THE WORLD'S CONTINENTS BEFORE EUROPEAN EXPLOITATION ARRESTED ITS NATIVE DEVELOPMENT

By W. BASIL WORSFOLD

Author of South Africa, etc.

At the dawn of history Africa was inhabited by races of both light and dark complexion; the former living in the temperate regions of the northern and southern extremities of the continent, the latter in the far more extensive areas of tropical heat. One or both of these contrasting groups of peoples may have come originally from outside, but it would seem that both had lived ages enough in their respective areas to be deemed true children of the soil, owing their complexions to their physical environment. That is to say, the skin of the negroes and negroid peoples had been burnt black by ages of exposure to the sun of tropical Africa, while peoples like the Berbers and the Hottentots, living in no such tropical heat, had remained, or become, light-complexioned, or been tinged only to the hue of copper.

Africa, then, when history first takes note of it, is the special, though not the exclusive, home of the dark-skinned peoples; while Europe belonged to the white, and Asia to the yellow races. Its inhabitants are markedly inferior, if not in mental endowment, at least in the capacity for social and political organization, to those of Asia and Europe. With the exception of Egypt—which is, in fact, no exception, since the political and cultural affinities of the Nile valley were Asiatic and not African—it has made no contribution to the general progress of mankind.

With such inferiority it is not surprising that Africa was subjected long ago to the tutelage of Asia, as it is now to that of Europe. Of the earliest manifestations of the tutelage of Asia history has little to say; but there is archaeological and ethnographical evidence to show that long before the birth of Christ Asiatic peoples entered Africa. Some parts of it they occupied permanently, mingling with the indigenous Africans; elsewhere they merely imposed, for longer or shorter periods, their civilization and supremacy upon the African populations which they exploited for their own purposes.

The first Asiatic penetration (apart from the close intercourse with Egypt) to produce effects recognizable in the subsequent history of the continent is that of the Phoenicians, who began more than 1000 years before the birth of Christ to plant trading stations on the north coast. With the rise of Carthage (see Chap. 28) in the sixth century B.C., the Mediterranean seaboard of Africa became increasingly detached from the rest of the continent; and from the incorporation of this seaboard into the Roman Empire in the first century of the Christian era down to the Mahomedan conquest in the seventh century, the countries north of the Sahara and the desert zone must be written off the books of Africa. Africa, south of the desert barrier between it and Europe, is the Africa of independent development, and it is with the political organization and distribution of the inhabitants of this Africa at the time of these epoch-making voyages that we are concerned.

The early intrusions of Asia upon the eastern side of the continent, before and after the birth of Christ, were followed in the seventh and eighth centuries by the occupation of all Mediterranean Africa, Spain and Sicily by the Arabs. This event, the Mahomedan conquest far transcended in the magnitude and duration of its effects any former intrusion of the East upon the West; and Vasco da Gama's voyage from Lisbon to India (1497-9), round the vast bulk of the African continent, marked the achieve-

ment of the most effective counter-stroke of the West—the establishment of direct maritime communication between Europe and the Far East. But though the Arabs failed to obtain a permanent lodgement in Europe itself, they wrested from Byzantium the African shores of the Mediterranean, and they and the Turks kept them detached from Western influence up to the nineteenth century. And entering the real Africa from this new base, as well as from their old base in Asia, the Moslem Arabians between the eighth and the fifteenth centuries did, in fact, bring no small part of the continent under the effective tutelage of Asia, and convert an appreciable proportion of its dark-skinned pagan inhabitants to Islam.

One other thing they did. Amalgamating with the white indigenous population of north-west Africa, they built up the Empire of the Two Shores, which in its zenith ruled from the Pyrenees to the Senegal, and created with it the splendid Arabic-Berber civilization under which from the tenth to the sixteenth century first Moslem Spain, and later Moslem North Africa, held centers of learning and enlightenment more advanced in scientific knowledge than any that could be found in Christendom. So long as the Church forbade the study of the natural sciences, it was in the courts and schools of Moslem Spain and North Africa that Christian students of natural phenomena found the information and scientific equipment which enabled them to achieve the objects of their researches, and, replacing the mysticism of the Middle Ages in Europe by observation and experiment, to prepare the way for the geographical discoveries and the religious, political, and material readjustments that marked the beginning of the modern era (see Chap. 115).

Two movements account for the spread of the brilliant Arabic-Berber civilization of the Empire of the Two Shores to the African populations of the Sudan. After the conversion of north-west Africa to Islam, numbers of the more nomadic Berbers withdrew southwards to escape the restraints and exactions of Arab rule, and established themselves in the semi-arid country between the Atlas ranges and the desert, in the oases of the Sahara, and in the western Sudan. In these areas they found kindred Berber clans, and pagan African peoples who, although they were black-skinned, were not negroes; and who, moreover, proved to be capable of receiving instruction in the Moslem faith and civilization. From this Berber emigration in the eighth century it resulted that before the eleventh century the northern half of the western Sudan had been brought within the area of the Arabic-Berber civilization. In the great days of the Khalifate of Córdova (757-1031), Ghana, then the chief pagan kingdom in the western Sudan, sent its gold and ivory, its slaves, its corn and cotton and other produce to Moslem Spain; and in exchange its townsmen, both Berber and pagan, received a plentiful supply of northern manufactures.

When, in the eleventh century, in Spain the Khalifate of the West fell into dissolution, in Africa south of the Atlas ranges a Berber chieftain, Yahya, was winning a desert empire for the Berber clansmen who, like their Tuareg kinsmen, were 'wearers of the veil.' In 1048 he went on pilgrimage to Mecca, where he learnt how grave were the shortcomings of his people in the practice of the faith. Resolved to remedy the evil, Yahya brought back with him an approved teacher, Ibn Yasin, who taught the Sanhaya tribesmen the pure doctrines of Islam, and inspired them with a burning zeal to spread the true faith of the Prophet.

In 1053 Yahya led the Sanhaya clans northward into the Farthest West (Maghrib el-Aksa), the south of which they wrested from the Zenata who ruled at Fez; there in 1062 they founded Marrakesh, the town from which the whole country was to take its name—Morocco. Later, all Morocco was conquered, and Moslem Spain restored and reformed, by these Berber zealots of the desert, whom Yasin called the Champions of the Faith, and history the Almoravid dynasty of the Empire of the Two Shores (1084-1145). Yahya died in 1056 in the full tide of his northern conquests, but before his special mission was accomplished. His brother, Abu Bekr, to whom he left his kingdom, handed over Morocco in 1061 to a cousin, Yussuf ibn Tashfin, and betook himself to the work of converting the pagan peoples of the Sudan.

The conversion of the Sudan—the second of the two movements indicated—was accomplished before the end of the

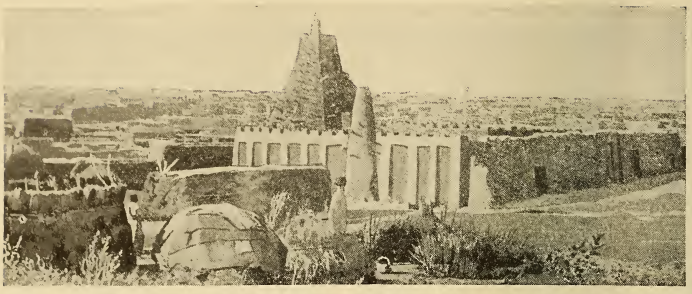
eleventh century. Ghana was subdued in 1067, twenty years later Timbuktu was founded, and from the Atlantic to the eastern bend of the Niger the Berber clansmen were established by Abu Bekr as rulers in a belt of African states running between the negro populations in the south and the Sahara on the north; and later this chain of Moslem states was extended to the Nile by Berber clansmen from Tripoli and the east. Thus the fertile valleys of the Senegal and the Niger were brought within the field of the Arabic-Berber civilization, and for three centuries, 1200-1500, the African peoples of the western Sudan shared the institutions, the arts and the literature of the highly developed communities of Moslem Spain and North Africa.

The common civilization was maintained by an active commercial intercourse, by the presence in each state of civil and religious officials and professional practitioners, trained in the same famous seats of learning, and by the use of a common language and the enjoyment of a common and abundant literature. It is the Arabic literature of the Sudan which enables the historian to attribute without hesitation to these African Moslem states a degree of civilization not inferior to that of the average peoples of contemporary Europe.

The conclusion is based not so much upon the information which these authors supply as upon the character of the authors as revealed in their writings. And yet some of this information is sufficiently surprising. Christian Europe, in its desperate struggle with Islam, had no commerce with Arabic literature. And without the knowledge which Moslem writers would have given them, how could contemporary Europeans have supposed that in 1153 the palace of the black African king of Ghana was decorated with pictures and sculpture, and lighted with windows of glass? Or that, while cannon were known in Europe for the first time at Metz in 1324 and Crécy in 1346, they had been used half a century before on the edge of the Sahara at the siege of Sidgilmessa in 1247? Or, again, that in 1353 twelve thousand camels laden with merchandise from Egypt—carrying the tonnage of some twenty to thirty of the ships of that age—passed every year through the desert town of Tekadda on their way to the African kingdom of Melle?

Whatever vague knowledge Europe possessed of an African civilization beyond the Sahara came from intercourse with the brilliant Moslem courts of Spain and North Africa. Christian visitors to Seville, the Spanish court of the khalif Yakub el-Mansur, third and greatest of the Almohade sovereigns of the Empire of the Two Shores (1184-1199), found a black African, Abu Ishak Ibrahim of Kano, a 'learned and celebrated poet,' holding there the office of laureate. Had they crossed the straits they would have seen installed at the khalif's African court, Marrakesh, no less a personage than the great Arabian scholar, Averroes. Certainly Prince Henry of Castile, when the anger of his brother, Alphonso X, had driven him to seek refuge at the court of el-Mostansir, the Hafsid sovereign of the kingdom of Tunis (1249-1277), must have learnt something of these African states. For among the distinguished men of letters and science, and envoys of foreign powers who thronged the khalif's court, was a mission from the black king of Kanem and Bornu, bringing, among other gifts, a giraffe; and the sensation which this animal caused in the streets of Tunis would have aroused Prince Henry's interest in the countries of the Sudan.

Accounts such as these, written not for ignorant Europe but for Moslem readers who were well acquainted with the countries described, are little likely to have been invented. Apart from instances where the authenticity of the statement is inherent, we know that patriotism, religious zeal or the prejudice or vanity of the narrator may so distort the facts with which he deals as to render his narrative almost devoid of historical significance. We may hesitate to believe that the house of Ahmed Baba, a doctor of Timbuktu—his tomb may be seen there—although 'of all his friends he was the one who had fewest books,' was pillaged of 1,600 volumes when, in 1591, that town and the Songhay Empire of which it was then the capital were conquered by the Moors of Morocco. But when the black African historian es-Sadi, a native of Timbuktu and the imam of its cathedral mosque, in describing the flight of the learned and wealthy classes from the town on the approach of Souni Ali's army in 1468, com-



RELIC OF EARLY CIVILIZATION IN TIMBUKTU

There was a flourishing civilization in the African Sudan three centuries before the Portuguese explorers came there. The beautiful cathedral mosque of Sankoré in Timbuktu which is here depicted formed a center of university training for intellectual Africans. Families living in the neighborhood were keenly interested in learning and culture, and formed a section of the town almost analogous to the French Quartier Latin. The black historian, es-Sadi, was imam of this mosque.

From Dubois, 'Tombouktou la mystérieuse'

ments on the educational value of 'games' for school children to much better effect than the German philosopher Schiller, then all doubts as to the reality of the civilization of Timbuktu in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are set at rest. For a man who writes as does the chief author of the Tarikh es-Sudan, who, in the words of Félix Dubois, is 'not content to record events, but explains them,' must have grown up in enlightened surroundings.

In the inherent evidence of mental and moral refinement contained in the books of es-Sadi (1596-1656) and earlier contemporary African and Arab-Berber writers, we have, therefore, convincing proof that for three centuries before the coming of the Portuguese there was an African civilization in the Sudan not inferior to that of contemporary Europe, and that at the very moment of da Gama's memorable voyage to India the last and greatest of these African Moslem states, Songhay, was just entering the period of its highest political and intellectual development. For, again in Dubois' words, the sixteenth century was 'the apogee of the scientific and literary greatness of Timbuktu.'

Another movement, closely connected with the Arabic-Berber penetration of the Sudan, contributed to make Africa what it was at the end of the fifteenth century. This was the southward migration of population; and it affected the entire continent beyond the countries on the Mediterranean coast. In the formation of the belt of Moslem states south of the Sahara the less virile and intelligent African peoples in the fertile basins of the Senegal and the upper and middle Niger were thrust southward to join the dense negro population in the low, tropical, coastal plains of the Gulf of Guinea. The negro population in that area, thus swollen in numbers, in turn displaced the weaker of the original inhabitants, and thrust them eastward to migrate still farther southward.

A more important phase of the same movement was the southward migration of the Bantu negroids, which is generally supposed to have begun at a period synchronous with the Arabic-Berber penetration of the Sudan. In the course of it the tribes of this family established themselves on the higher tablelands which run parallel to the east coast from the region of the great lakes to the southern littoral of the continent. In the temperate uplands of south-central Africa they probably encountered, and drove westward and southward, the Bushmen and Hottentots, who like the forest dwarfs were yellow-skinned, indigenous Africans, and whom the Dutch settlers found at the Cape in 1652, although the latter did not come into contact with the Bantu until a century later.

The name 'Bantu' gives no hint of the geographical or racial origin of the peoples it is used to designate. It is applied to all the dark-skinned, indigenous populations of central and southern Africa whose languages have certain common characteristics, notably that of being inflected by prefixes. To this similarity of language is added a common infusion of Asiatic blood, which gives the Bantu mental and physical qualities that make them superior to the negro. It is to their contact in the course of this southward progress with the Moslem and Hindu traders on the east coast that the Bantu of East and South Africa owe their more familiar name of Kaffirs, that is, 'unbelievers.'

The superiority of the Bantu in comparison with the negro is shown conspicuously by their greater capacity for political organization. The peoples of this race have a simple, but fully developed, tribal system of government, with a body of customary law, tribunals of justice and a system of land tenure. They have an adequate language, and, while there is no written literature, the traditions of the tribe are preserved by oral narrative and folk-lore.

Horned cattle being their distinctive form of wealth, and the common medium in which the bride-price and the tribute to the chief are fixed and paid, both the military and industrial tribes possess a knowledge of agriculture and stock-raising. But while the latter have some skill in the working of metals, pottery and weaving, the former have a special aptitude for military discipline which more than once has enabled powerful and ambitious chiefs to convert the whole of the adult males of the tribe into a man-slaying machine.

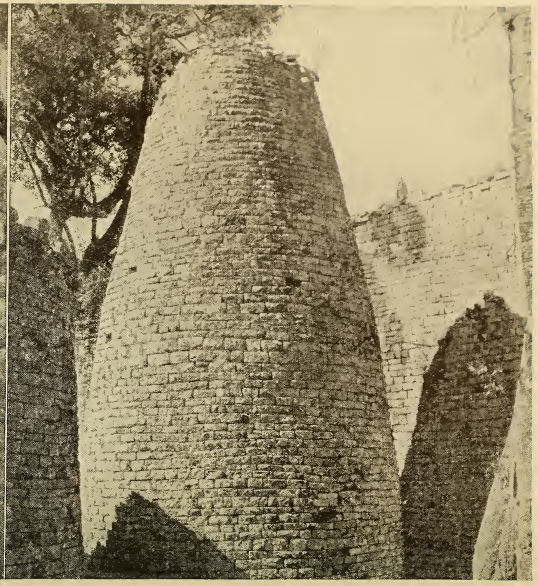
The religious sense of the Bantu is based upon the belief of the survival of the soul after the death of the body. The main purpose of their religious exercises is to placate the spirits of the dead, to which they assign power to work good or evil upon the living; and to this crude, ancestor worship they add a belief in witchcraft and other supernatural agencies.

At the time of Vasco da Gama the Bantu had thrown up one loosely organized but considerable political system, which possessed an industrial output and an established commerce in mineral and other products, and maintained relations with the Asiatic traders on the east coast of the continent. This system, shown on the Italian and Dutch maps of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as 'the empire of the Monomotapa,' afforded a second field of organized African life; and to this and the Arabic-Berber states in the Sudan there must be added two other such fields—the East Coast sultanates and Abyssinia. Of these four distinguishable areas of human activity in Africa south of the Mediterranean littoral, the Arabic-Berber civilization was incomparably high-

PORTUGUESE IN BENIN BRONZE

This figure of a sixteenth-century Portuguese soldier is a good example of the bronze-casting art evolved by native Africans in Benin. He is equipped with dagger, matchlock arquebus, and what is perhaps a native leather breast-plate.

British Museum



MONUMENTS OF A LOST AFRICAN CIVILIZATION: THE WALLS AND TOWERS OF ZIMBABWE

No date can be assigned with certainty to the mysterious ruins of the Great Zimbabwe in Rhodesia, which fable has identified with the gold-bearing 'land of Ophir.' Evidence of agriculture and mining tells the explorer that the district was once populous, and the beauty of the ruins bears witness to architectural skill. The style of masonry is shown on the broken inner wall of the elliptical temple famed for its double walls. A solid conical tower (right) stands beside the passage to the sacred enclosure; at its side is a much smaller one. These towers seem to have been religious in purpose.

Courtesy of British South Africa Company

est in development and most extensive.

In the references hitherto made to the Asiatic tutelage of Africa attention has been directed almost exclusively to the Moslem states of the Sudan. This, however, although the most conspicuous, was not by any means the only area in which Asiatic civilization had taken root. A glance at the map will show that, while at the northern end of the Red Sea the land surfaces of Asia and Africa actually meet, at its southern end they again approach so closely that only the strait of Bab el-Mandeb lie between them. It will show also that just there Africa extends eastward, parallel to Arabia, by the Somali promontory that terminates in Cape Guardafui. These two ends of the Red Sea were the bridges, so to speak, by which the two main roads of intercourse between Asia and Africa crossed from one continent to the other. The northern road, linking Egypt to the Euphrates valley by way of Syria, passed through the isthmus of Suez; the southern road, linking Africa directly with Arabia, and less directly with the Euphrates valley, Persia and India, crossed over by the narrow waters in which the Red Sea mingles with the Gulf of Aden.

It was by this latter route that the merchandise of India and the Far East, and possibly the gold of the high plateaux of south-east Africa, gathered by the Sabaeans of Yeman, had passed across the Sahara to Carthage. For that great daughter state of Tyre, apart from holding the one natural harbor on the whole Mediterranean coast of Africa, was so conveniently placed beyond the barrier of the Atlas ranges that she commanded a vast land-borne commerce with the interior of the continent. And by this southern portal, the Bab el-Mandeb, from time immemorial the brown nomads of the Asiatic reaches of the common desert zone entered Africa, sometimes mingling with, but more often displacing, the black-skinned peoples they encountered. By this portal, too, an intermittent stream of more distant Asiatic emigrants reached the north-eastern highlands, or spread southward down the eastern littoral.

PART OF AN EPOCH-MAKING MAP

Portuguese discoveries along the coasts of Africa are recorded in Joh. Ruysch's map published in 1508—the first printed map representing Africa as an ocean-encompassed peninsula and with its southern point on a nearly correct latitude.

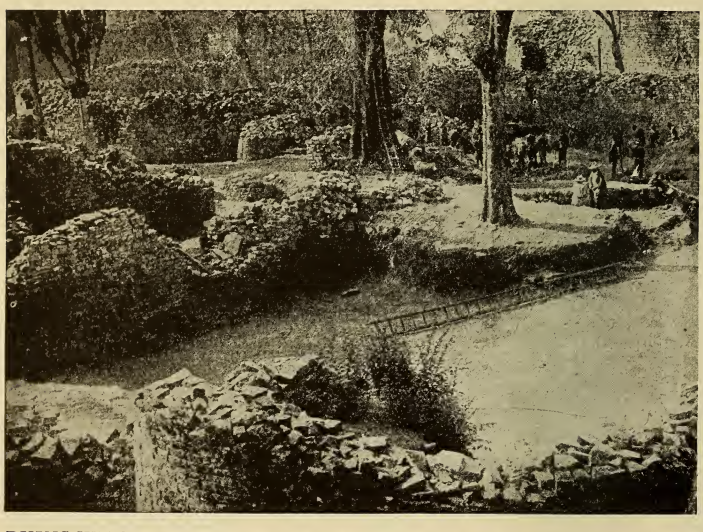
From A. E. Nordenskiold, 'Facsimile Atlas'

At the end of the fifteenth century the East Coast ports were in Arabian hands, and some of them were the seats of sultanates of considerable extent and commercial importance. In the first twenty years of the sixteenth century the Portuguese, in establishing their early monopoly of the maritime trade between western Europe and the East Indies, the fruit of Vasco da Gama's enterprise, wrested the East Coast ports between the Limpopo and Cape Guardafui from the Arabs; and, finding them more

profitable than their earlier trading stations on the western coasts of the continent, made some efforts to colonize them and develop the interior. The Portuguese monopoly of the lucrative Indian trade was quickly challenged by Holland and England.

Among these intermittent Asiatic immigrations the most interesting perhaps was that of the Jews. From the time of the Babylonian captivity (587 B.C.) companies of these near kinsmen of the Phoenicians began to enter Africa by one or other of the Red Sea portals. Under the protection of the Ptolemies a numerous colony of Jews was established at Alexandria. Later, the rigorous suppression of the Jewish revolts against Rome (A.D. 66-132) caused a further migration from Palestine to Africa. Most of the immigrants made their way along the Mediterranean coast, where they founded the settlements from which the existing Jewish communities in French North Africa and Italian Libya are descended. Of those who entered by the southern portal, some made their way from the east coast across the desert; and to-day the traveler in the Algerian Sahara may well believe that in the sacred town of the Mozabite communities he sees the sights and shapes of the Judaea of the Maccabees.

Two circumstances invest the region of tablelands between the Zambezi and the Limpopo, known to Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Monomotapa, with a special interest. It is the site of what was probably the greatest goldfield of the ancient world, and it is now, as Southern Rhodesia, the youngest self-governing colony in the British Empire. The only reliable evidence of the nature of the people who



RUINS WITHIN THE GREAT ENCLOSURE OF ZIMBABWE'S TEMPLE

Inside the temple enclosure, which is elliptical, with a maximum length of 292 feet and a maximum breadth of 220 feet, the floor, originally a thick pavement of concrete, is covered with a maze of small buildings. Ruins of what seems to have been an altar, monoliths which may have been sacred pillars, and various phallic emblems, lend color to the suggestion that the Great Enclosure, the actual Zimbabwe, was a religious building; but equally it may have been a military strong-point.

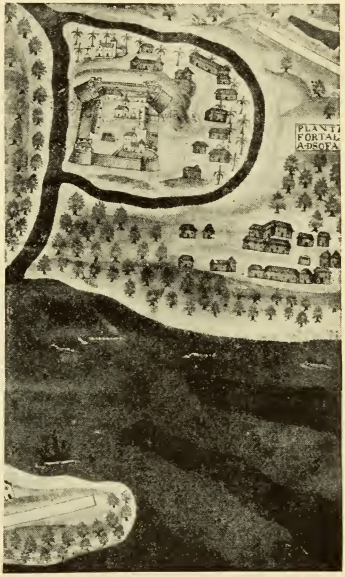
Courtesy of British South Africa Company

lived in this region of the continent before the Bantu comes from archaeological remains, as yet imperfectly explored. The discovery in 1921 of the skull of the Broken Hill man (Homo rhodesiensis), together with the numerous palaeolithic implements found in the country, shows that this very new British colony may have been peopled before the close of the last glacial period—i.e. before Man (Homo sapiens) was fully evolved. The 426 Bushman paintings which have been found in caves make it reasonably certain that before the Bantu spread southward these tablelands were the home of these yellow-skinned, primitive people. This evidence relates to the whole region.

Two other and more distinctive classes of remains are found in the mineralized area, 500 miles long by 400 broad, which forms the ancient goldfield. Here more than 100,000 sites of ancient workings have come to light, and the oldest and finest rock mines, sunk sometimes to a vertical depth of 150 feet, are pronounced by mining engineers to be undoubtedly the work of Asiatic miners. The evidence of the 400 remains of stone buildings is more difficult to interpret. The origin and date of these ruined buildings are undetermined.

Another piece of evidence which, as indicating the possibility of a Hindu colonization such as occurred in Java, deserves consideration is the prevalence throughout the gold-bearing area of non-indigenous plants and trees of Indian habitat. But whatever may be the outcome of archaeological research in Southern Rhodesia, there already exists a body of trustworthy evidence which goes to show that, while Yemen, the country of the Sabaeans in the south-west corner of Arabia, was the Ophir of Solomon and yielded the main gold supply of the Graeco-Roman world, the gold itself came from the uplands of south-eastern Africa.

In the fifteenth century this gold-bearing area was within the territory of the paramount chief of the Kalanga, a tribe of industrial Bantu; and it was by the sonorous title of the Monomotapa, or Lord of All, that he and his country became known to the Portuguese. At that time the finely tunneled rock mines had been long abandoned, but gold was won by washing the river sands and by primitive methods of quartz crushing within the knowledge of the Kalanga. The trade was in the hands of the Arabs, by whom the gold dust, brought to Sofala on the coast, was shipped to the East Coast sultanates. In 1500, when Cabral, the Portuguese commander, assembled the remaining vessels of his storm-tossed fleet off that place, he found there two Arab vessels ('zambucos') about to sail back to



SOFALA IN ITS PRIME

The town of Sofala, south of Beira, was in Arab hands for 300 years before the Portuguese took it in 1505. This plan, drawn in 1634 by Barreto de Rezende, shows the harbor—now silted up—with its obstructing bar and the Portuguese fort.
British Museum, Sloane MS., 197

Melinde, whence they had come to trade for gold. The Portuguese were anxious, naturally, to gain possession of this gold-bearing country, but it was protected by the low-lying and pestiferous plains that lay between it and the coast. During the period of their occupation of the Zambezi region (1505-1760) they remained in complete ignorance of the real gold mines—

the ancient Asiatic workings—and never succeeded in obtaining even a moderate revenue from the 'mines' granted by the Monomotapa, Manuza, to the king of Portugal in 1629.

Twenty years after this last date the Portuguese ceased to collect gold dust from the Bantu, and replaced the illusory enterprise of finding and working the mines of Monomotapa by the capture of Africans for exportation as slaves to Brazil and other Portuguese possessions. This new industry, which inaugurated the slave trade, proved a far more lucrative source of revenue.

But where military expeditions and treaties failed the Jesuit and Dominican missionaries succeeded. Whatever progress was made in the exploration of the interior, and in establishing industrial relations with the Bantu peoples, was due to their efforts; and among the records of the period the letters and reports sent by these resolute and devoted men to their ecclesiastical superiors in Portugal and Rome help us most, perhaps, to form some rough idea of the condition of Monomotapa and its people.

The Kalanga were the most advanced of the Bantu peoples, and from the many accounts of the Portuguese missionaries and others which have been preserved it would appear that the system formed under their paramount chiefs marks the highest degree of civilization attained by Africans as an independent development. An example of the mental capacity of individuals among them is afforded by the career of Miguel (so baptized), the son and heir of the paramount chief, Kapranzine. After the substitution of Manuza for Kapranzine by the Portuguese in 1629, the latter and his adherents were defeated two years later in a decisive battle, in which, among other captives, Miguel was taken prisoner. The child was sent to Goa, the seat of the Portuguese Indian administration, where he was baptized, educated and maintained as a state prisoner by the governor-general. There he entered the Dominican order, became a popular preacher, was awarded in 1670 the degree of Master in Theology by the general of the order, and died (since Manuza had remained loyal to the Portuguese connexion) vicar of the convent of Santa Barbara.

One of the conditions imposed upon Manuza when, in 1629, he was set up as paramount chief, was an undertaking to allow the missionaries to build churches and teach Christianity to his people. He himself was baptized a few months later, and was thenceforward known as the Monomotapa Philippe. He died on May 25, 1652, just seven weeks after Van Riebeck's three ships, bringing the first European settlers to South Africa, had come to anchor in Table Bay. The successor to the chieftainship had adhered to the Kalanga beliefs, but to the great relief of the Dominican fathers he yielded to the arguments of Aleixo do Rosario, and announced his conversion. The news of the conversion of the Monomotapa Domingos and his wife Luiza (for so they were named) caused great satisfaction in Portugal, and for a time it was confidently expected that Monomotapa would become a Christian state as well as a most valuable possession. These hopes were never realized.

From the time in question, the middle of the seventeenth century, Portuguese influence in East Africa and India rapidly declined before the increasing success of Dutch and English enterprise in the East Indies. In the eighteenth century the 'kingdom of Monomotapa' (that is, the widespread region in which the authority of the paramount chief of the Kalanga was recognized) broke up into independent chieftainships; and in 1840 the country was overrun by the Amandibele (Matabele), a tribe of military Bantu akin to the Zulu. From the cruel supremacy of Lobengula, the paramount chief of this tribe, the Mashonas and other survivors of the Kalanga peoples were delivered half a century afterwards by the British South Africa Company.

In the highlands beyond the Nubian desert, where the Blue Nile rose, a mountain people had preserved the earliest rites and beliefs of Christianity, free alike from ecclesiastical accretions and the violence of Islam. And in the centuries between the Mahomedan conquest and the Portuguese occupation of the east coast (700-1500) the loosely-connected provinces of dark-skinned peoples of mingled African and Asiatic blood, who lived in and around the mountains of Ethiopia, remained the one Christian state in Africa. It is from its mixed population that the country gets, probably, its modern name, Abyssinia (i.e.

from the Arabic 'habasha,' to mingle).

Every legitimate 'negusa negust,' or king of kings, traces his descent from the union of King Solomon with the Queen of Sheba. The substance of the claim is supported by the presence to-day of some 70,000 Jews in the southern provinces of Abyssinia, most of whom live in the district of Harrar, the trading post on the caravan route from the ports of the strait of Bab el-Mandeb and the Gulf of Aden to Addis Ababa in the highlands. These Jews are not recent arrivals, for the tropical sun has burnt them to blackness; and the account they give of themselves is this. When the Queen of Sheba bore a son to Solomon, she reigned at Axum, the great city of Ethiopia; for at that period (eleventh century B.C.) the Sabaeans held the country on both sides of the Red Sea. Solomon desired that this son, Menelek, should succeed him, but the people of Israel would not accept an heir to the throne of David whose mother was of black blood. Thereupon the king sent Menelek back to Ethiopia, and with him a great company of Jews to make a prosperous kingdom for him. This they did, and Menelek, ruling as David I, was the founder of the present dynasty. Of the Jewish immigrants some mingled with the people of the country; but others kept apart, refusing to intermarry with strangers, and thus preserved their race and religion. It is from the latter that these Falasha Jews of Abyssinia claim to be descended. But whatever may be the actual source of Abyssinia's relation to Jerusalem, there is no question as to its long and close connexion with the church of Egypt. From the time when, C. A.D. 330, Athanasius, the patriarch of Alexandria, sent Frumentius to be the first bishop of Ethiopia, to the present day, with one interval, its metropolitans have been consecrated by the patriarchs of Alexandria; and since A.D. 536 these patriarchs were Coptic—i.e. Egyptian and monophysite—not Orthodox Greek.

BAPTISM OF A KALANGA POTENTATE

The progress of Christianity in Africa seemed likely to suffer by the death of the Monomotapa Manuza in 1652. To the relief of the Dominican missionaries, however, his pagan successor announced his conversion and was baptized by the name of Domingos, his chief wife being christened Luiza.

House of the Dominican Order, Rome; from Theal, 'South Africa'

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the European conception of Abyssinia was dominated by the fact that there alone in Africa Christianity survived as a state religion. Thus John Pory, when supplementing in 1600 The History and Description of Africa, by the Arabic-Berber writer known as Leo Africanus, gives to 'Abassia' the alternate name of 'The Empire of Prete Ianni, commonly

BATTLEMENTS AND TOWERS OF A PORTUGUESE CASTLE IN ABYSSINIA

Early in the seventeenth century rumors reached Europe of a Christian kingdom in the Abyssinian highlands, sorely beset by hordes of Moslem fanatics, and in 1640 a Portuguese expedition was dispatched to its assistance. At Gondar, near the source of the Blue Nile, the Portuguese built this formidable stronghold on the top of an almost impregnable escarpment. Before long their proselytizing zeal led to the ejection of the Portuguese, but the deserted castle still frowns over the country.

Courtesy of Field Museum, Chicago

called in Latin writers Presbiter Iohannes.' His account is probably a fair representation of what Europe knew of the country at the time of Queen Elizabeth. The prince, he wrote, derives his 'petigree from Melich, the son of Salomon by the Queen of Saba'; and the Abyssinians claim to be descended from the 'officers and attendants' whom Solomon appointed when he sent Menelek home to his mother. Throughout all the dominion of the Prete there was no single city of importance, for the largest towns had no more than 2,000 households. These towns were all open and exposed to the attacks of the desert tribes. The 'Portugales,' therefore, had recommended the Prete to build castles, and fortify his cities, to protect his people against 'the outrageous injuries and losses daily inflicted by the Moors and Mahumetans both upon their goods and persons.' In this condition, a prey to strife within and invasion from without, the land of Prester John was found when, in 1805, it was opened to European travelers and merchants by its alliance with England against Napoleon.

Of these four main areas of organized human life in Africa (exclusive of the Mediterranean littoral), at the time of Vasco da Gama, the Sudan was incomparably the most important.

Asiatic influence in the Sudan was long anterior to the introduction of the Moslem religion. The black Africans of the Sudan were distinguished from the negroes of the Guinea Coast and central Africa by mental and physical qualities of Asiatic origin. The identity of some among them with the peoples of the Nile Valley is generally recognized, but the period at which these Nubians spread westward is not determined. The earliest migrations may have taken place even at the remote age when Meroe was a cradle of civilization in Africa as important as Egypt. But in the case of the Songhays, whose political development culminated in the time of Vasco da Gama, Félix Dubois has assigned a definite date and occasion to the exodus.

The author of Tombouctou la mystérieuse shows, by historical, linguistic and ethnographical evidence, that the Songhays were driven from their home in the Nile Valley, south of Philae, by the

Arabian conquest of Egypt. Starting in the middle of the seventh century, and following the southern edge of the desert zone, they made their way in the course of years past Agades, north of Lake Chad, to the eastern Niger. Here, in a country fertilized by natural irrigation like the Nile-land that they had abandoned, they placed their first capital, Kaougha, on the site of the Gao of to-day. Later, they advanced westward to the farther side of the Bend of the Niger, where, about A.D. 765, they founded Jenne. From 700 to the sack of Timbuktu by the Moors in 1591—a period equivalent to the duration of Rome from the foundation of the Republic (510 B.C.) to its subordination to Byzantium (A.D. 395)—Songhay held a place among the great African kingdoms of the Sudan, Ghana, Melle and Bornu. In the fifteenth century under Suni Ali (1464-93) and Askia the Great (1494-1529) it achieved an extension of territory and an efficiency of administration that made it in the sixteenth century the predominant state in the Sudan.

Both of these rulers were black-skinned Africans. Suni Ali, whose conquests made Songhay an empire, remained a pagan at heart, although he adopted the faith of the Prophet on grounds of policy. Askia, on the other hand, became a devout Moslem. Directly his power was established (1495) he placed the government in the hands of his son Omar and spent two years in visiting the holy cities in Arabia, and Cairo, then the seat of the Khalifate. By Mutawakkil, the last of the Abbasid khalifs, he was invested with a white turban and a green fez, and proclaimed the khalif's deputy in the Sudan with the title Emir Askia el Hajji Mohammed. At both these centers of Islam, by intercourse with the theologians and jurists, he learnt the principles of administration which his natural aptitude for political organization enabled him afterwards to apply successfully to the government of his kingdom.

His own conquests added to those of Suni Ali brought him an aggregation of states and peoples that stretched southwards from the salt mines of Tegazza in the Sahara to the mountains which fenced in the dense negro population of the Guinea coast, and eastwards from the confines of the Atlantic to Lake Chad. The central regions were fertilized by the Niger, and midway upon the northern reaches of the great river was Timbuktu, the Songhay capital. To all this motley congeries of states and peoples Askia brought order and security, and he then consolidated the whole vast area, some 1500 miles from east to west, by an administrative system so admirably adjusted to the conditions of the population that its efficiency was only temporarily impaired by his least worthy successors.

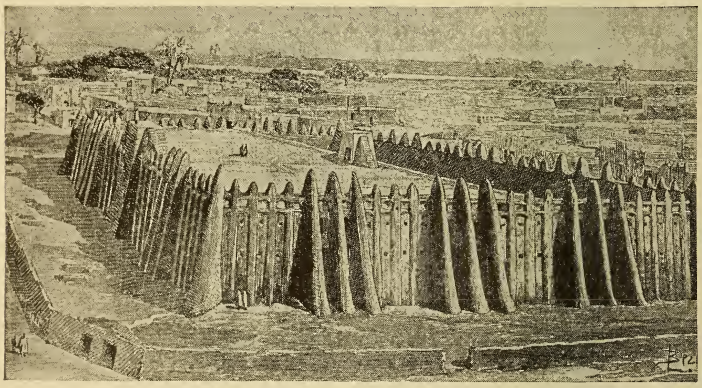
Of this system only the briefest outline can be given. The entire territory was divided into four viceroyalties, and the viceroyalties subdivided into provinces. The viceroys were responsible to the king, but the governors of provinces to one of the four viceroys. The method by which Askia secured a reliable personnel for the administration was simple. The highest offices were filled by members of his own family, and when the supply from this source proved insufficient he married his daughters to competent persons outside the royal house. Thus in course of time a dynastic aristocracy, or governing class, was created. Hitherto, in time of war production and commerce were dislocated by the withdrawal of men for military service. To obviate this economic evil Askia established a permanent army, with the result that during his campaigns industry and commerce were undisturbed. At the same time measures were taken to stimulate and develop both. A fleet, with its headquarters at Kabara, was built to regulate and promote the usage of the great natural waterway of the Niger. For the divergent weights and measures of the various peoples now incorporated into the Songhay kingdom a single system, common to them all, was substituted; and to ensure its adoption and check fraud the weights and measures used by traders at the principal markets were periodically inspected. The internal trade was centralized at Jenne, and the external at Timbuktu. To the latter an abundance of European merchandise was brought by the desert caravans from the Moroccan ports by way of Touat, and from Tripoli and Egypt by way of Gao. And, besides the merchants, scholars and men of distinction came from all parts of the Moslem world to the Songhay capital, where at the court of Askia not only the etiquette and ceremonies, but the sumptuous entertainments of the courts of the khalifs were

sedulously reproduced. At this time the harem system and the veiling of women were adopted by the Africans.

The prosperity of Songhay continued until the last decade of the sixteenth century. It was brought to an abrupt close by the Moroccan conquest of the western Sudan in 1591-5. Making all allowance for patriotic and religious bias, there is ample evidence not only to establish the reality of the African civilization of which the kingdom of Askia the Great was the highest product, but to justify the language in which es-Sadi, the black-skinned African chronicler of the Sudan, writes of the catastrophe of its dissolution. 'All was changed in a moment,' says the Tarikh es-Sudan (as rendered by Lady Lugard in A Tropical Dependency); 'danger took the place of security, destitution of opulence, trouble, calamities and violence succeeded to tranquillity. Everywhere the populations began to destroy each other. In all places and in every direction rapine became the law; war spared neither life nor property, nor the position of the people. Disorder was general; it spread everywhere till it reached the highest degree of intensity.'

How did it come about that the people who produced the Empire of the Two Shores and the brilliant Arabic-Berber civilization of Spain and north-west Africa—the people known to Europe as the Moors destroyed the Sudanese civilization which they had themselves made possible? To answer this question, two other questions must be answered. How was it that this great African civilization was unknown to Europe, and what part did the Christian powers take in destroying it?

Europe had remained in ignorance of the Moslem African civilization in the Sudan for the sufficient reason that the books which described its progress, and recorded its achievements, were written in Arabic. Portugal, when making her earliest settlements upon the Atlantic coast of the continent, did seek to establish commercial intercourse with the Songhay kingdom, but failed to do so. Both there and still more effectively on the Guinea coast the insanitary coastal plains, and the belt of savage negro populations that inhabited them, barred her (and her European competitors) from access to the civilized interior. In the



RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT MOSQUE AT JENNE

Jenne was a capital of the Songhays before Timbuktu and here, on the conversion of the people to Islam in the eleventh century, an immense mosque—shown above in reconstruction—was built about 1050; it speedily became the most famous in the Niger Valley, and was said to be finer even than the great mosque at Mecca. The mosque was a large, rectangular building, with crenellated walls and pylonic buttresses arranged in groups of three, the whole enclosed within a brick wall.

From Dubois, 'Tombouctou la mystérieuse'

fifteenth century the battle of the Crescent and the Cross had gone well for Europe in the West. In 1492 the Moslem kingdom of Granada submitted to the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella, and soon afterwards the Moors were driven out of Spain. But in the East the battle had gone against her. In 1453 the Turks took Constantinople, and then for over a century the Near East was closed to Europeans. In the sixteenth century Europe was again successful in the West. The great counter-stroke of Henry the Navigator was delivered, and Europe could trade by sea, without Moslem middlemen, with the Far East. Christian Spain carried the war across the Strait into Moslem North Africa. At that moment the Turks, still victorious in the East, intervened in the West. The Moslem advance into Europe was stayed by the successful resistance of Vienna in 1528, but the sultan's empire was extended from Egypt to Tripoli and Barbary.

In the third quarter of the century the tide of Turkish conquest ebbed. At Lepanto in 1571 Turkish sea power in the Mediterranean was destroyed. Assured of the East Indian trade, Europe could afford to exclude Moslem merchantmen from her southern ports. But while the fleets of Spain, France and Italy could—and did—close the Mediterranean to Moslem seaborne trade, they were powerless to win back for Europe the North Africa which Islam had wrested from Byzantium. The ports of Barbary and Morocco, once the marts in which the products of Africa and the Far East were exchanged for the manufactures of Europe, were emptied of merchant shipping. Soon they became the harbors of different and more sinister craft. Excluded from commerce and intercourse with Christian Europe, the Moors took by force of arms what they could no longer obtain by the methods of peace. Every Christian sail afloat was an enemy vessel and a lawful prize of war; its cargo subject to pillage, its crew and passengers to death, or, if taken prisoners, to slavery or ransom.

The Moors made one desperate effort to redeem the loss of their Mediterranean commerce. Turning their backs to Europe, they strove to win a new field of activity in the interior of Africa. The conquest of the western Sudan, being only transitory and ineffective, failed to avert the decay of Morocco, but it destroyed the Songhay kingdom and the Moslem African civilization of which it was the crown. Severed from all contact with European progress, the Sudan never recovered from the disorder in which the Moroccan conquest had plunged it, and sank slowly into the barbarous condition in which it was found by the early European travellers in the nineteenth century. For 300 years the Moslem states of North Africa, thus isolated, stood like a wall between Europe and Africa, and in the seventeenth century intercourse between them was limited to such as was carried on by the European trading stations with the neighboring coastal tribes.

Nor was this the only way in which Europe suffered by her severance of all natural ties between herself and the Moslem peoples on the opposite shores of the Mediterranean. Piracy was the only trade she had left them, and for three centuries the practitioners of this trade plundered her merchantmen and visited their crews and passengers with death, slavery and degrading cruelties. Except for the periodic, and mainly unsuccessful, attempts to suppress the Barbary corsairs, and the unexpected development of the Dutch East India Company's victualling station at Table Bay into a European colony, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century Africa was a derelict continent. Europe had deprived her of the benefits of Asiatic tutelage, and then forgotten her in the pursuit of the new and vast opportunities of trade and colonisation which the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama had revealed.

EUROPEAN LIFE AND MANNERS

CHANGE AND PROGRESS IN THE DAILY HABITS OF THE WEST BETWEEN THE THIRTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

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THE purpose of this chapter is to depict the way of life pursued by the peoples of Europe during the four centuries which intervened between the papacy of Innocent III and the publication of the Edict of Nantes—that is, roughly, during the period A.D. 1200-1600.

Particularly in western Europe these four centuries constituted a great age of transition, and if we compare European life and manners at the beginning and end of the period we cannot fail to be impressed by a spectacle of radical differences and revolutionary alterations. Without question, there was an immense improvement in the standard of European life and manners. The period witnessed the transition of a continent from semi-barbarism to nascent civilization; from ignorance to the dawn of scientific knowledge; from superstition to rudimentary rationality; from serfdom to the beginning of freedom; from extreme poverty to comparative wealth; from isolation to communion with both the old world of the Far East and the new world of the Far West; from a condition of chronic plague, pestilence and famine, punctuated by the frequent occurrence of battle, murder and sudden death, to one of some approach to order, discipline, sanitation, peace and prosperity which have been achieved by present-day civilization.

It is true, unfortunately, that all classes did not share equally the advantages of the new era. It may even be true that, as in most ages of rapid and radical change, there were some who suffered positive loss by the passing away of the old order in which they had had their place. It is certain, moreover, that the collapse of the structure of medieval society and the construction of the fabric of the modern world out of its ruins was not unattended by some very grave drawbacks, particularly in the spheres of morals and religion. Nevertheless, on the balance, the gains immeasurably outweighed the losses.

A question which at once confronts us when we attempt to examine the standards of life and manners prevalent in thirteenth-century Europe is: How large was the population of the Continent at that time?

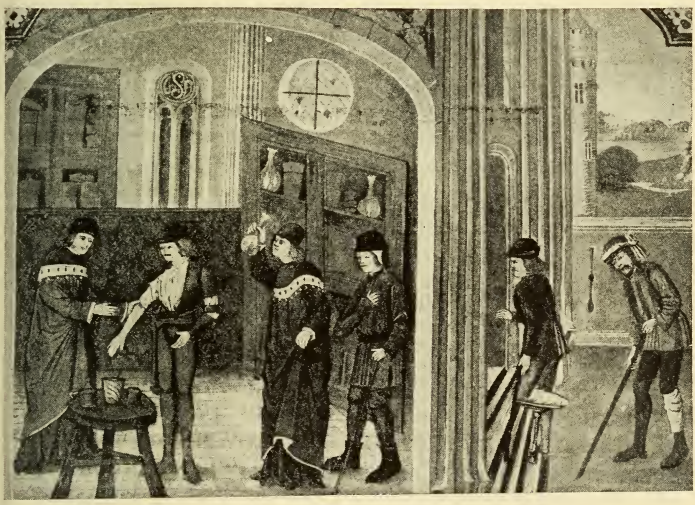
IT is a question to which no very precise answer can be given. For not till modern times were any adequate registers of births and deaths kept; and calculations based upon such sources as exist (seigneurial rolls, for instance, or taxation returns) give results which vary beyond hope of harmonization. It must suffice here to say that the population of Europe cannot have exceeded one-eighth of its number at the present time. England and Wales, for example, which in the census returns of 1931 were stated to have just under forty millions of inhabitants, seem to have had in the thirteenth century somewhere about four millions—that is to say, fewer than the present administrative county of London.

That the population was almost stationary at such exiguous figures as these was due partly to the fact that means of subsistence did not exist for many more, and partly to the fact that numbers were kept down by the tremendous toll which death incessantly levied by means of pestilence and war. So numerous were the risks to life in the thirteenth century, and so high the probability that death would catch its victim young, that a man of fifty was as rare then as a man of seventy-five is

now. The majority of children born died in infancy, and those who survived the perils of their early days were constantly beset and harassed by epidemics and other diseases with which the medical conventions of the age made no rational attempt to cope.

So long as plagues and agues and leprosies were looked upon as direct judgements of Heaven, with which it was impious to interfere, and against which it was useless to contend except by means of fastings, penances and prayers—so long had men to content themselves with a life shorter by some twenty-five years, on the average, than the normal span; and so long had they to spend even this truncated existence subject to horrors exceeding any known or imagined in civilized countries today.

This scanty, short-lived and troubled population of Western Christendom was broadly divided, as the necessities of the time indicated, into three great classes: *oratores, bellatores* and *laboratores,* that is to say, churchmen, warriors and manual workers. The churchmen held without dispute the foremost place, for in an age dominated by theology they performed functions regarded as incomparably more important than any other. The earth was looked upon as the center of the universe, to which center the sun, the moon, the planets and the stars were all appendant and subservient. The span of the earth's existence was believed to have been but a few thousand years, and the catastrophic termination of its tragic career was held to be imminent. The outstanding events in world history were the Fall, the Redemption and the impending Day of Judgement. The brief term of Man's sojourn here on earth was merely a period of probation whose purpose was to determine his eternal destiny. Such being the case, life was valuable only because it provided opportunities for achieving salvation; health and wealth were desirable only in so far as they assisted the soul on its heavenward way.



INTIMATE DETAILS OF LIFE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

A fifteenth-century illustration of a doctor's house shows the scene both within and without. In his 'surgery' the doctor examines and attends to a young man's injured arm, while other patients limp to the door awaiting treatment.

British Museum, Royal MS. 15 E.2

Views such as these respecting God, the world and Man implied that religion claimed control of the whole of human activity. Nothing could be safely left to the occupation of the devil. Hence the clergy—the official interpreters of the divine will, the organized custodians of the sacred mysteries, the keepers of the keys of Heaven and Hell—were foremost not only in the ministrations of the sanctuary, but also in politics, in law, in education, in social service and in economic regulation. Two things only prevented their attaining a complete monopoly of power and the entire administration of all property: the first was that the world did not fully believe in them; the second was that they did not fully believe in themselves. A certain leaven of incredulity in both clergy and laity—a failure on the part of the clergy to rise to the height of their pretensions, and a failure on the part of the laity to realize the depth of their dependence—allowed the world to continue to exist as a separate institution from the Church.

Within the world, as distinct from the Church, the class of the bellatores, or warriors, held the position of precedence. Next in importance to eternal salvation was the defence of the terrestrial treasures of life, liberty and property. Today it is almost impossible to realize how extremely insecure were life, liberty and property during the dark meridian of the Middle Ages. The blackest period was the two centuries—roughly 850 to 1050—which followed the collapse of the empire of Charlemagne. That was the period during which Europe was assailed and ravaged both by land and sea by Northmen, Magyar, Saracens and Slavs. All central government broke down; all general resistance was overwhelmed; and everywhere men were left to organize a local defence or to perish. In those circumstances, feudalism sprang up.

It was essentially a military system. Its foci were the fortified castle and the armor-clad knight—the castle which alone could provide shelter from the fury of the pagan marauders; the knight who alone could hope to withstand the shock of the invaders in battle. The chivalry of Europe—the great order of the bellatores—during these two centuries of almost incessant warfare saved Christendom from extinction at the hands of the most formidable and remorseless foes that it ever had to face up to the present day.

About the middle of the eleventh century, however—that is, roughly, from the date of the battle of Hastings—the feudal nobility had completed its main task. But it continued to exist, entrenched in military ascendancy, a menace to tranquillity, an obstacle to centralized government and an insuperable barrier to the peaceful development of industry and commerce, a formidable foe to the progress of civilization. The history of the later Middle Ages in Europe is largely the record of the way in which the kings, aided by the clergy and supported by the rising power and wealth of the towns, overthrew the feudal aristocracy and established the strong national monarchies which marked the advent of modern times. They were able to do so only when new weapons—the longbow, the crossbow, the pike and, above all, firearms—destroyed the military foundation of the supremacy of the bellatores by rendering castles pregnable and panoplied knights vulnerable.

The class which superseded the bellatores at the beginning of the modern era was, in the broadest use of the term, the class of the laboratores, the third estate of the medieval social organization. In the thirteenth century the laboratores were mainly an agricultural and servile peasantry. The immense majority of all the peoples of Europe were engaged in burdensome, incessant and not always successful efforts to wring a subsistence from the soil sufficient to maintain themselves, together with the bellatores who fought for them and the oratores who prayed for them.

The sense of community was strong. No one lived unto himself alone. Each toiled, or bled, or fasted on behalf of his fellows, as well as on his own behalf. But out of the agricultural and servile peasantry a new sub-class was springing up, that of the artisans and merchants who, congregating in favored localities, formed towns, established guilds, amassed wealth, asserted freedom, secured charters and developed self-government. Before the end of the thirteenth century the communes of France, the free cities of Germany, the city states of Italy, and in England the municipality of London were

political powers of the first magnitude.

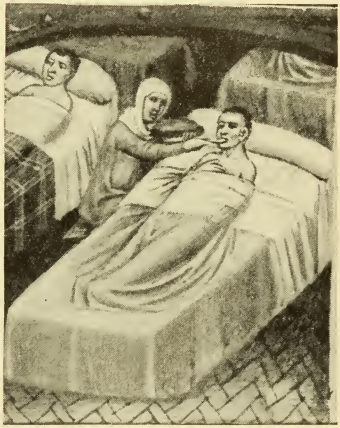
From the social classes of the thirteenth century we turn to consider the dwellings in which their representatives lived, together with their occupations and behavior therein. Once again we shall have to discriminate, for oratores, bellatores and laboratores (rustic and urban) lived very different kinds of lives amid very different surroundings.

Of the oratores, those who were most wholly engrossed in their business of religious exercise were the regular or monastic clergy. The oldest and most numerous of these monastic orders was that of the Benedictines, whose rule dated from the sixth century of the Christian era. The Cluniacs, or reformed Benedictines, were instituted in the tenth century. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries saw the establishment of Carthusians, Cistercians, Augustinians, Premonstratensians, and many other orders. These orders differed from one another in countless matters great and small; they wore distinctive costumes—the Benedictines were the "Black Monks," the Cistercians the "White Monks," and so on.

Subject, however, to these differences, the great common feature of all monastic institutions was the dominance of worship. The supreme duty of the devoted inmates was sacrifice and intercession not only on their own behalf, but on behalf of Christendom as a whole, and of the pagan and infidel world which lay beyond the pale of the Faith. Hence the church was the center of monastic life.

Day, for the religious, began at sunrise, when a bell called the brethren to awake and, having washed and combed their hair, to proceed to the church for prime and morning mass. After mass they assembled in the chapter house, where the orders for the day were announced and, on occasions, a sermon preached. Here, too, confessions were made, accusations brought, judgements delivered and punishments inflicted. Chapter ended, the brethren dispersed about their several avocations until, at the third hour (somewhere about 9 A.M.), they were recalled to the church for terce, which was followed speedily by high mass and by sext. This long succession of services occupied the major part of the morning, and soon after the conclusion of sext, about midday, the bell would summon the worshipful and hungry fraternity to their first meal. The meal was commonly of two courses, soup and meat, reinforced by ample supplies of bread, fruit, ale and light wine.

Upon fast days fish and eggs took the place of meat. On feast days extra courses and special delicacies supplemented the normal fare. The meal was followed by a period left free for meditation or repose: but the period was not



IN A MEDIEVAL HOSPITAL

Such hospitals as there were in the Middle Ages labored gallantly to relieve the sickness resulting from ever-present disease and horribly unhygienic conditions. Here we see a nurse in a hospital of about 1250 administering food to a patient.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photo, Catala Frères

long, for about 3 P.M. the bell gave notice of nones, a short service which was succeeded by a spell of work. This was terminated, as the day began to decline, by the summons to evensong, after which came the second and last meal of the day, supper, very similar in character to dinner. At the close of supper the brethren strolled in the cloister or the gardens for a short time until the bell called them to complin and sent them to bed.

Not even then, however, were their daily devotions over. For at midnight that consecrated bell fetched them up

again and sent them into the dim and awful church for matins and lauds. Thence they returned to bed, to remain undisturbed until the bell warned them of the dawn of another ecclesiastical day.

Very different from the life of the regular clergy or monks was that of the secular clergy who performed the work of the Church in the world. They consisted of the bishops, who ruled the dioceses into which Christendom was divided; priests, who served the parish churches; deacons, who assisted them and prepared themselves for the priesthood; together with sub-deacons, acolytes, exorcists and others, who, though regarded as clerics in minor orders, were not debarred either from marriage or from participation in the ordinary business of the world.

ONE OF ENGLAND'S ANCESTRAL HOMES

Penshurst Place, in Kent, is the historic home of the Sidneys. Its hall, sixty-four feet in length, dates from 1341, and has the original open timber roof, with louvres through which the smoke escaped from the fire burning on the brazier in the center. Over the doors at the end is the minstrels' gallery.

Photo, H. N. King

A medieval bishop was not merely a prince of the Church, exercising enormous ghostly powers of absolution, excommunication, confirmation, ordination, discipline and punishment; he was also a great temporal magnate ruling an extensive diocese, administering large revenues, holding high political office, playing a prominent part in affairs of the secular state. Episcopal palaces rivalled in magnificence those of the proudest and wealthiest nobles. The knights and men-at-arms who followed the bishop's banner to the wars were often as numerous and well appointed as were the companies of the lay baronage, and not infrequently a militant bishop, wearing helmet instead of mitre, himself led them into the fray.

PARISH priests moved on a much lowlier plane. They shared the life of the common folk, lived in houses such as the village freeman or the urban artisan dwelt in, took part in the labor of the land, shared in the scanty produce of the open fields. Except on holy days and in holy things they differed little from the toiling, suffering, short-lived multitude from whom they sprang and with whom they passed, after their brief probation, into terrestrial oblivion.

Clergy in minor orders were in a more anomalous position. Technically they were "clerics," officials of the majestic and dominating Church, protected by the sanctity of their dedication, and enjoying the countless benefits and immunities which their ecclesiastical character con-

ferred upon them. In fact, they were rather "clerks" in the modern sense of the term. Sharing the clerical monopoly of the scanty learning of the day, alone possessing the capacity to write letters, keep records, enter up books and make out accounts, they held the business world largely in their hands, and through them primarily the ecclesiastical power exercised its jurisdiction over industrial custom and commercial morality.

During the thirteenth century the home of the fighting noble was still the castle, and very different was it in structure and design from the peaceful houses of prayer and labor in which dwelt the monks. Castle building reached its perfection in the thirteenth century. Château Gaillard on the Seine, built on the eve of the century, Coucy, erected in its prime, and Beaumaris, towards its close, are among the most perfect of the works of military architecture. A concentric system of fortification made the castle even stronger for defense than before; a series of gates and sally-ports enabled the garrison to adopt a more active form of warfare than hitherto; within its secure precincts halls, kitchens, bedchambers, chapels made it a place of tolerable, if not luxurious, residence in times of peace.

The cessation of constant warfare meant, on the one hand, that the feudal lord and his fighting men were free to spend a much larger portion of their time at home than had been possible in the days of the pagan raids, and, on the other hand, that they were able to cultivate other arts than that of war. In these circumstances the great institution known as chivalry developed—an institution which played a notable part in determining the code of manners, the standard of morals and the course of education of all the subsequent ages.

In its complete and perfect form chivalry consisted of three factors: war, religion and gallantry—a curious and incongruous mixture. The militancy of chivalry was the heritage of feudalism; religion, of a sort, came with the Crusades; gallantry was implanted in the Orient, fostered by the minstrels, developed into riotous luxuriance by the writers of romance. Before the time of the Crusades the feudal noble or knight had been a ferocious and brutal barbarian hardly superior in manners or in morals to the savage marauders whom it was his business to repel. At the end of the eleventh century, when the great invasions were over and Christendom

COTTAGE LIFE IN 1500

Conditions of life were shockingly squalid for the medieval peasant everywhere. Cottages were thatched hovels of wattle and daub, seldom weatherproof, with unglazed windows, floor of trodden earth and provided with the meagerest furniture.

From Bouchot, 'L'exposition des primitifs français,' permission of Librairie Centrale des Beaux Arts

found itself once more in comparative repose, the Church perceived the feudal soldiery—warlike, undisciplined, unemployed—to be a peril to civilization itself.

Religion Tames the Noble

With infinite skill, then, and with astonishing success, she undertook the conversion of the lords of the castles and their men. She consecrated knighthood to the service of the faith; she filled the minds of her new devotees with a consuming fury of hatred for the infidel; she launched the hosts of the belligerent believers on the great enter-

prise of the recovery of the Holy Land. And amongst the results of the Crusades were some that had a far-reaching influence upon European life and manners. The Crusaders, who made their long and adventurous journey through strange lands or across unknown seas, were brought into contact with a civilization very different from their own, and in most respects much farther advanced and highly developed. They imbibed new ideas; they became cognizant of new arts and crafts, new standards of comfort and luxury; they were filled with new conceptions of conduct and new ideals of character.

TABLE MANNERS IN POLITE SOCIETY

'Fingers were made before forks,' which, indeed, were ridiculed in England as 'Italian neatnesses' as late as the time of James I. Earlier than that table manners were very crude, but, as this fifteenth-century miniature from the Luttrell Psalter suggests, a certain etiquette was beginning to appear.

From 'Vetusta Monumenta'

Hence, when they returned from the East to their Western homes, they tended to convert their castles to courts, and to substitute for the rough usages of war the etiquette of sport and gallantry. Tournaments provided the necessary outlet for their fighting spirit; hunting and hawking gave them exercise and recreation; within the halls of their castles feasting and minstrelsy, story-telling and charades, filled up the vacant hours. In these circumstances gallantry, in the sense of devotion to woman and a fine courtesy in behavior towards ladies, developed and established itself as the third great element in chivalry, turning the warlike spirit of the knight to the defence of the weak, and rivalling religion as a motive of adventurous action. The castles of the nobility became schools of honor where the sons of the smaller gentry were trained as pages (from their seventh to their fourteenth year) in the manners and usages of chivalry, and as squires (from their fourteenth to their twenty-first year) were initiated into the arts of sport and of war.

Chivalry had its grave limitations, without a doubt. Its kindnesses and courtesies were restricted to a single class; it fostered pride and ostentation; it tended both to formality and to fanaticism in religion; its gallantry was not inconsistent with gross immorality. But, when all is said, it set a new standard of refinement, vastly improved the code of good manners, and established the system of public-school education.

The home of the peasant did not proportionately share in the improved standard of living which marked the thirteenth century in the castles of the nobles, the manor houses of the country gentry and the dwellings of the craftsmen and merchants of the rising towns. The cottage of the village cultivator of the soil commonly consisted of a single room formed of four walls constructed of wood and daubed over with mud. A low doorway gave admission; a few unglazed holes, shuttered in bad weather, let in a little light and a great deal of draught, and possibly let out some of the foul air and horrible stenches that prevailed within.

In cold weather a log fire would smoulder in the midst of the hovel, its smoke filling the place and gradually making for escape through an aperture in the turfed or thatched roof. The untiled floor would be covered with straw or brachen, and on this the family—old and young, male and female, hale and sick—would sleep at night, covered with woollen rugs. Here, in the squalor of this one room, in perfect and unashamed publicity, would be enacted the full drama of birth and life and death.

Furniture of the room would, as a rule, be limited to a table, a few stools, a chest

and a scanty collection of necessary pots and pans. To the majority even of the most destitute of the pauper populations of modern Europe the conditions of such a life would be intolerable, although there are still a few regions—for example, in the Balkans, in Russia, in Italy, in Ireland, and even in the slums of England—where things are but little better. We have, however, to remember that comfort is a comparative state. The peasants who dwelt in such filth, such indecency and such inconvenience had never known anything better; nor had their ancestors to remote antiquity.

Moreover, what is more important, until the thirteenth century the amenities and respectabilities of the lords in their castles, the bishops in their palaces, and the kings in their royal residences were not very markedly superior. The most splendid dwellings of the feudal age had but a single sleeping apartment, and in this common chamber the family of the lord and the lord's guests had to seek repose. Servants, retainers, dogs and what not lay among the rushes on the floor of the dining hall. Privacy there was none, nor was there a possibility of what are now regarded as the elementary decencies of daily life.

We need not, therefore, waste our sympathies on our uncomfortable and unblushing progenitors. Conceiving nothing better, they were satisfied. Seeing round about them a general uniformity of condition, they were not afflicted with envy, hatred, malice or uncharitableness. The dawn of luxury in the thirteenth century, however, made a difference. From the East came glass for windows, carpets for floors, tapestries for walls. From the North came coal for fires, which necessitated the shifting of fireplaces from the middle of the hall and the making of chimneys to convey the smoke away. Separate bedrooms, with drawing rooms and parlors made their appearance in the greater mansions, and more refined standards of manners were promulgated. It began to be said that the polite person should not handle fish, flesh or fowl with more than three of his ten fingers at a time; that he should not wipe his mouth or clean his teeth with the tablecloth; that he should not spit across the table, nor throw chicken bones over his shoulder, and so on.

Rich and Poor at Variance

The introduction of these exacting codes of social behavior, together with the growth of luxury amongst the wealthy, and the development of chivalry among the highborn, tended to give rise to a sharper division of classes than heretofore known. The genius of Christendom is equality. The Catholic faith teaches a brotherhood of Man based upon the fatherhood of God, and emphasizes the truth that the features which all men have in common are incomparably more numerous and more important than those which divide them one from another. As mediaeval Catholicism declined into modern unbelief, not only was the Church weakened by heresy and rent by schism, but society itself was split up into sects and warring classes. The close of the thirteenth century saw, on the one hand, a far-reaching revolt against ecclesiastical authority, and, on the other hand, a profound social unrest which was destined in the fourteenth century to flame up in widespread and sanguinary revolt.

To little purpose did the orders of friars, founded at the beginning of the thirteenth century, combat the growing evils of these transitional days. The Dominicans, the preachers, made it their work to combat erroneous doctrine and suppress scepticism. To the aid of their eloquence they were able to summon the machinery of the Inquisition and the fanaticism of the Crusaders. But it was to no permanent purpose. As fast as they stamped out one heretical sect another sprang up, and the smouldering fires of revolt against ecclesiastical authority were spread rather than extinguished by the novel severities of Mother Church.

At the same time the Franciscans, workers among the poor, strove to mitigate the social sufferings of the age. Their devoted and faithful ministrations no doubt brought consolation and healing to myriads of the sick and sad: but the ills of the dying Middle Ages were too deep-seated to be cured by solaces and soporifics, however sweetly administered, and the fourteenth century opened with gloomy foreboding.

Although the fourteenth century was one of disintegration and revolutionary change, it was not until its middle point

was reached that the forces of destruction and transformation displayed their full power. The Black Death of 1348-49 was the real and catastrophic end of the Middle Ages in western Europe. From the ravages of that awful pestilence, which carried away nearly one half of the population of all the countries that it visited, the system of medieval Christendom received a shock from which it never recovered.

Until the time of this visitation, however, in spite of wars (waged mainly by professional and mercenary armies) and heresies (easily held in check by an omnipotent Church), the century appeared to be one of unusual prosperity and plenty, profusion and pageantry. The rich fabrics and choice delicacies of the East, spread throughout Europe by Hanseatic merchants on land and by Venetian navigators from the sea, enabled a new standard of luxury and refinement to be established by nobles and wealthy townsfolk. The gloom and inconvenience which characterized castles, even at their thirteenth-century best, gave way to country houses or urban mansions, which, though still moated or walled for defence, were built primarily for purposes of comfort and enjoyment in times of peace. Tournaments attained their most splendid magnificence; costumes developed their most picturesque extravagances; ceremonial feasts displayed their most enormous prodigalities.

In vain did sumptuary laws attempt to check the growing ostentation; in vain did the Church preach the duty of self-mortification and the virtues of asceticism. The papal court itself at Avignon set an example of luxury which nullified the doctrines of the Franciscan friars, and the monasteries of the stricter rules languished for lack of the devout. The lust of the eye and the pride of life prevailed over the humility of faith and the power of the world to come.

This fascinating but sensuous half-century (1300-50) was marked by an immense development of European commerce and by a vast improvement in the machinery of finance. An imperious demand for capital for purposes of trade and industry made itself felt, and the Church had to modify its ancient rules which had denounced and suppressed "usury" Italian bankers and moneylenders began to rival and supplant the Jews as collectors and distributors of bullion. Italian cities, such as Florence, Pisa, Genoa and Venice accumulated fabulous wealth, and used it to hire soldiers, secure political independence, foster architecture and art, establish libraries, encourage literature and philosophy. The German cities of the Hanseatic League emulated their Italian rivals in splendor and in power, and far exceeded them in capacity for orderly government and effective co-operation.

Material progress and social amelioration went hand in hand with intellectual advance. The universities, those notable products of twelfth- and thirteenth-century enterprise, flourished exceedingly. Paris and Bologna attracted their thousands of students from every quarter of Christendom; Oxford and Cambridge developed actively that special glory of theirs, the collegiate system; in the fourteenth century the movement spread to the Empire, giving rise to universities in Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne and Erfurt.

Yet even the prosperous first half of the fourteenth century had its dark side. It was a period of abnormal violence and cruelty. Battle, murder and sudden death were events of everyday occurrence. Rarely since Europe became nominally Christian has human life been held so cheap, and never has the average length of human life been shorter. Few men of the upper classes could expect to live beyond the age of forty, and fewer still to die in their beds. As to the lower classes, what with brawls, wars, pestilence, famines and executions, the majority perished before they reached maturity. In particular, the growth of large towns at a time when the merest rudiments of sanitary science were unknown, and when medical skill was synonymous with superstitious quackery, was a fruitful source of the most devastating disease.

One consequence of the frightful mortality of the period was that men and women married prematurely, and became the parents of a physically feeble progeny which itself fell a still more easy prey to the pests of the age. Edward III of England, for example, was born in 1312; his eldest son, the Black Prince, was born in 1330, and in 1346 (when his father was under thirty-four years of age) was in

command of an English division at the battle of Crécy. No wonder that the Black Prince died exhausted at the age of forty-six; and still less wonder that his son, Richard II, a hopeless degenerate, perished childless and deposed before the close of the century.

High, however, as was the normal mortality of the early part of the fourteenth century, it was completely reduced to insignificance by the appalling depredations of the Black Death in the years 1348-49. From this frightful visitation the shaken and already tottering institutions of the Middle Ages were never able to recover. The guilds and confraternities, the religious houses, the baronies and manors, the chartered towns, the autonomous cities—all were weakened in a manner which clearly portended their dissolution or transformation. Even such institutions as survived — the universities, for instance—did so in new forms and with a new spirit and outlook upon life which would hardly have been recognized by their founders and former patrons. Above all, the authority of the two great medieval estates of the clergy and the nobles—the oratores and bellatores—was shattered, and the way prepared for the emergence of the laboratores—the third estate, now rapidly subdividing itself into agriculturists, artisans, merchants, financiers, lawyers and professional men generally—to wealth, culture and eminence.

Most immediately conspicuous was the change in the position of the rural peasantry. The sudden death of nearly one-half of their number immensely enhanced the value of the labor of such as remained. Those who were free naturally demanded and secured higher wages. The majority who were not free, but were bound by the ties of feudal serfdom, fiercely resented and resisted the insistence of their lords that they should, in return for their ancient holdings, perform predial services as before, without any diminution in respect of their greatly increased worth. Discontent on the one side and severe constraint on the other culminated in a long series of peasants' revolts, of which the so-called "Jacquerie" in France was the first (1358) and the German "Bauernkrieg" or "Peasants' War" (1525) the last.

PASTORAL IN 'MERRIE ENGLAND'

After the Black Death much land formerly under the plough was converted into pasture, and sheep farming tended to replace corn growing. This miniature (c. 1560) shows two shepherds. They carry spuds for digging roots, and their dogs wear spiked collars for protection against wolves.

Permission of Ernst Leroux, from Leon Dorez, 'Les manuscrits à peinture de Lord Leicester'

Serfdom's Gradual Abrogation

In England the main rising took place in 1381, under the leadership of Wat Tyler. The demands of the peasants included the abolition of serfdom, the substitution of a fixed money rent for land in lieu of personal service, freedom from the obligation of using the lord's mills, and so on. This revolt, like those on the Continent, was suppressed, and things seemed to fall back into their normal condition. But appearance belied reality. Although villeinage lingered, so that in England it was found even in the seventeenth century, in France as late as the Revolution of the eighteenth century and in Germany well into the nineteenth century, yet everywhere it was doomed, and in most countries it was swiftly reduced to a mere antiquarian survival.

With the change in the status of the laborer came changes in the system of land tenure, a wide conversion of fields from agriculture to sheep farming, and the rise of a new class of farmer (such as the English yeoman) who powerfully reinforced the urban "third estate" of merchants, financiers and lawyers.

Within the sphere of industry other than agriculture, the most conspicuous feature of the period which followed the Black Death was the decay of the old chartered towns with their exclusive guilds, their jealously guarded privileges and their restrictive regulations. Industry, like agriculture, called for emancipation, and it escaped from the haunts of its medieval tutelage and established itself in villages and unchartered towns where it could develop in its own way. Domestic industry supplanted guild industry. Labor and capital became fluid. The path was prepared for the great and marvellous exhibition of enterprise and energy which marked the dawn of the modern era.

Before the modern era dawned, however, the bewildering twilight of the fifteenth century had to be traversed. Intellectually and artistically it was one of the most remarkable periods in the history of western Europe. It was the age of the Italian Renaissance, which reached its culmination in Florence under Lorenzo de' Medici (1469-92). The patrons of the new learning—protectors and rewarders of artists, sculptors, architects and writers—were the merchants, bankers and municipal magnates who raised the Italian city states to the highest pinnacle of wealth and power during the century. Not so advanced as the Italian cities were the cities of Germany, France, the Netherlands, Spain and England. Nevertheless, even in them commerce was accumulating riches; intercourse with the world was generating novel ideas; contact with men of many cultures was introducing new forms of art.

One of the main features of the intellectual activity of the fifteenth century was the formation of libraries, small according to the standards of the present day, but vast compared with what had been customary even in the great monasteries or the royal palaces of earlier times. Easily first in importance were the Italian libraries—for example, those of Rome (the Vatican), Florence, Venice, Naples; but well worthy of remark were those of such northern universities as Paris and Oxford. At the beginning of the century, of course, the books of the libraries were all in manuscript, and were costly in proportion to the amount of manual labor required for their production. But during the century the development of the art of printing from movable types inaugurated the era of cheap literature and widely disseminated knowledge.

Socially, this same cardinal hundred years saw the swift and decisive advance of the middle class all over Europe. Its strength lay in its growing wealth, derived from expanding industry and developing commerce. This wealth enabled it to win the favor of kings; to build great walled cities, and within them to erect splendid churches, halls and domestic mansions; and, above all, to provide the means by which the new artillery could be procured, whether on its own behalf (as in Italy and Germany), or on behalf of its royal protector (as in France and England).

Economically, the age was curiously and bewilderingly variegated. If we look at agriculture and the rural population we see a picture of almost unmitigated gloom. The medieval system of communal cultivation had never recovered from the calamity of the Black Death. The villages were sparsely peopled, and constant recurrences of the plague prevented any increase of the cultivators of the land.

The life of the agricultural laborer continued to be hard and precarious. His home was still the squalid and pestilential hovel of his forefathers. His food was the scanty and unwholesome diet of the very poor—the flesh of animals that had died of disease, salted fish, oatmeal, rye bread, washed down with sour ale or rancid mead. Hence his health was bad and his life usually short. In particular, he suffered almost universally from some form or other of horrible skin disease, due to his more than bestial uncleanliness. Soap was too expensive for him to buy, even if he had desired to buy it, or had known of it save as an extravagance of the rich and lordly. It never occurred to him to take a bath, no matter how richly Nature spread opportunity before him in running stream or pellucid lake or alluring sea. Sufficient for him to get wet through every third day or so in the course of his labor.

'GOOD PULL UP' FOR WAYFARERS

Roadside ale-houses indicated their readiness to supply wayfarers with liquid refreshment by a pole, called an ale-stake, fastened over the door, often with an ivy bush suspended from it. The smaller inns were ordinarily kept by women and were verminous hovels, the haunt of disreputable characters.

British Museum, Royal MS. 10 E.iv

Not infrequently his rough clothes, once put on, were never doffed until, as rags, they were peeled away to make room for their successors. Within their filthy recesses vermin bred unmolested, and foul diseases ran their course unmitigated. The general name applied to these loathsome skin affections was "leprosy." Usually this "leprosy" was no more than a cutaneous affection which would have been prevented by cleanliness, or cured by a simple antiseptic treatment; but sometimes it took the much more serious form of scurvy due to the excessive amount of salted or putrid meat devoured, and to the absence of wholesome fresh vegetables from the common diet; and occasionally the true and dreadful Oriental leprosy itself was to be found, traceable to infection from travellers to the East.

Over against this continued squalor in the villages was to be set the rising standard of health and comfort in the new industrial towns and the free cities—not, of course, in the old chartered municipalities, which shared in the rural decay. We have noted how Italian cities, such as Florence, Genoa, Pisa, Venice, Milan, Naples, reached their summit of wealth and magnificence. Splendid, too, were such German cities as Augsburg, Nuremberg, Frankfort-on-Main, Cologne and Trèves. The growing trade and manufacture of the Netherlands enabled Antwerp and Amsterdam, Bruges and Ghent, and many others, to cultivate the art of refined and luxurious living. The maritime activities of the men of Spain and Portugal, which before the close of the century led to the discovery of the Cape route to India and the New World of America, made the fortunes of Oporto and Lisbon, Seville and Cadiz.

However, there can be no doubt that the opening up of Africa and America in the fifteenth century increased and aggravated the already excessive lawlessness and violence of the period. Beyond the line, as later "East of Suez," there were no Ten Commandments, and men could and did raise, not merely a thirst, but the very devil himself. The native populations of America, with their curious and interesting civilization, were doomed to a painful extinction. European conquerors overwhelmed them; European marauders despoiled them; European diseases exterminated them.

On the other hand, their European exploiters, possessed of power without responsibility, and employing their supremacy without any restraint of conscience, developed a diabolical depravity which debased the whole moral standard of Christendom.

A wicked and adulterous generation was made doubly evil by the reaction of the morals of the mariners. In every port of the West the "shipmen" became notorious for their licence and their unruliness. They were ready for any crime of violence, and so great were their numbers and strength that no local authority, and few central authorities, dared attempt to hold them in check or call them to account.

THE sixteenth century is definitely modern. It was marked by the complete collapse and disappearance of the medieval Empire and Papacy—that great ideal "Respublica Christiana" which claimed to exercise a divinely constituted authority over all kings, princes and governors. In place of it was established the modern system of sovereign national states ruled by arbitrary and despotic monarchs, supreme in all causes, whether temporal or ecclesiastical. The striking growth of monarchical power and pretension involved the suppression of the feudal nobility, the prohibition of private wars, the disbanding of the turbulent condottieri, the establishment of law and order, and the maintenance of conditions in which trade and industry, science and art, literature and learning could flourish without fear of molestation.

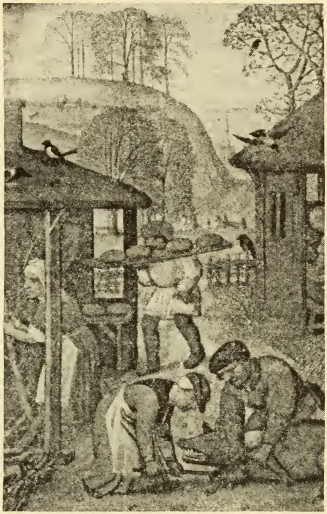
True, the new national kings themselves engaged in wars which were conflicts on a larger scale than those of the feudal era. But these dynastic struggles were, for the most part, waged by professional armies, and they did not greatly disturb the peaceful development of the civilian populations of the new monarchies. Not till the outbreak of the horrible religious conflicts at the close of the century were the peoples of Europe gravely involved in the worst abominations of war, and even then only France and the Netherlands were really seriously embroiled. In the main the century was one in which a new and strong central authority enabled European life and manners to develop in a novel atmosphere of security.

EVIDENCE of this fact is most strikingly given by the architecture of the period. Not only did the sixteenth century see the creation of a marvellous array of beautiful and elaborate ecclesiastical buildings, of which King Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey is one of the most notable English examples; it saw also the erection of many schools, colleges and public halls; and, further, the establishment of a vast multitude of splendid country residences, of which Hampton Court (1514-40) may be taken as the supreme instance in England. The contrast between the medieval castle and the 16th-century manor house is striking.

Built for defence, the one is massive, repellent, gloomy, comfortless. The other, eloquently proclaiming its confidence in a government able to keep the king's peace inviolate, is light, airy, half-timbered, cheerful with enormous and numerous windows, surrounded not by a ghastly moat but by lovely gardens laid out with lavish care and filled with various and exquisite flowers.

WITHIN the house the making of separate compartments for parlors, drawingrooms, kitchens and bedrooms gave a privacy and an opportunity for a refinement of manners such as had been impossible in the Middle Ages. A notable novelty in the houses of the wealthy in this century was the huge four-poster bedstead, with its elaborately carved pillars and cornices. Nightdresses, also, for the first time, began to be worn in bed, though very rarely. Feather beds and blankets had been innovations of the fourteenth century.

Medieval meals, for those who could afford them, were prodigious and protracted functions. The ancesters of the modern Europeans must have had enormous appetites, and a still vaster capacity for drink. We have records of the provisions made for certain coronation feasts, and for feasts on other ceremonial occasions, and the catalogue of supplies laid in reads like the commissariat for a large army. For example, for a single banquet in 1466 were required 1,000 sheep, 300 calves, 300 pigs, 200 kids, 100 oxen, together with over 10,000 birds of one sort or another. Besides the meat and game, moreover, were 4,000 baked tarts and 2,000 custards; but no vegetables. The



VILLAGE LIFE FOUR HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Although conditions of life have greatly improved for the peasantry in every country, their employments remain essentially the same through long periods of time. These pictures in an early sixteenth-century Flemish 'Book of Hours' show (left) a peasant chopping wood for his wife and a mother indoors nursing a child; and (right) a woman at her washtub and a boy taking round the bread, much as they do today. Only the pig-killing is conducted with less publicity nowadays.

British Museum, Additional MS. 24,098

sixteenth century was rendered notable for the introduction, largely from the New World, of new articles of diet which not only added variety to the monotony of meat, but also immensely improved the health of the community. This century witnessed, if not in every case the first appearance, at any rate the introduction into common use, of the cabbage, carrot, lettuce, rhubarb and, above all, the potato. Again, such fruits as apricots and strawberries and currants made their way as attractive novelties into the common dietary.

Wine by the Gallon

REGARDING drink, anyone in the Middle Ages who habitually quaffed water would have been regarded as one of those "wild asses" of whom the Psalmist pitifully sang. Ale, or mead (prepared from fermented honey), or light wine were the drinks in common use, and of these immense quantities were required. One gallon a day was considered the minimum allowance, suitable for such restricted imbibers as nuns, or monks, or young children. The use of hops as a preservative and flavorer had become common in the fifteenth century, and thus "beer" had begun to supplant the sweet medieval ale.

Far more important, however, than the substitution of beer for ale was the advent of non-intoxicating drinks of a wholly new nature. Somewhere about the year 1550 the Spaniards introduced chocolate from Mexico. Half a century or so later Jesuit missionaries brought tea from China, and a little later coffee began to be regularly imported from Turkey. It is difficult to over-estimate the social effects of the popularization of these new drinks. The ascendancy of the ale-houses was chal-

lenged; the practice of sobriety spread; the attractions of the home were enhanced; the habit of meeting and establishing clubs in coffee-houses and tea-shops spread, until in the seventeenth century it acquired political importance.

So urgent was the need of daylight saving, owing to the inadequacy and the expense of such artificial light as could be procured from candles and lamps, that meals had to be fixed for hours which at the present day appear absurd. There were only two recognized meals in the day: dinner and supper. In the Middle Ages the hour for dinner was commonly 10 A.M., while supper was taken at 5 P.M. In the sixteenth century, in fashionable circles, the tendency was to postpone dinner until 12 noon, and supper until 6 P.M.

LEISURELY GOING

Riding on horseback was still the chief means of locomotion for the well-to-do class at the beginning of the sixteenth century, women often riding pillion behind their lords. *British Museum, Harleian MS. 1,892*

However many courses there were, each person kept the same plate, knife and spoon throughout the meal. Forks had made their appearance first at Venice, in the fourteenth century, but they were not welcomed generally, and fingers continued to be the common means of conveying food to the mouth until the close of the Middle Ages. Napkins were unknown; nor were handkerchiefs carried until the middle of the sixteenth century. Hence diners wiped their fingers on bread which, having been used, was thrown under the tables to the dogs. Books of etiquette still warned diners against cleaning their teeth with the tablecloth and against spitting across the table. Such things were not tolerated in the most polite society.

If meals began early, work commenced still earlier. The laborer rose with the sun and continued his toil until darkness set in and forced him to desist. In the summer, when the days were long, he commonly took a couple of hours in the heat of the afternoon for repose. A fourteen-hour day, all the same, was regarded as normal. Nor was it more than the circumstances required. Man was not helped much by machines. In the fields, digging, furrowing, planting, reaping had all to be done by hand. In the workshop, most of the processes were still manual. Only by constant toil could the scanty population secure a sufficient livelihood. There was no lack of work, and any person who was found idling away his time was branded as anti-social and was liable to a scale of punishment culminating in death.

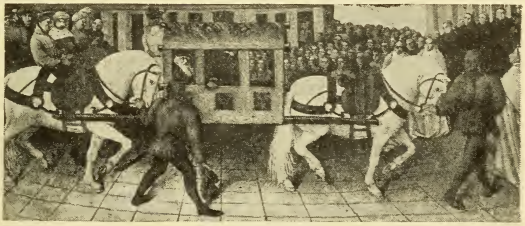
The life of women was as strenuous as that of men. Such girls as were educated were put through the same grinding mill as their brothers. The majority who were trained to the duties of the rural life found their hands full throughout a day whose limits were only those of the light. The farmer's wife, for instance, had to spin; to prepare the corn for the grinder; to tend the poultry, pigs and cows; to brew and to bake; to look after the garden where grew the herbs needed for cooking; to cook meals and clear up after them; to make hay and even drive the plough; to go to market, both to buy in necessary stores and to sell the produce of the farm; to nurse the sick, bind up the injured, and do everything else that Man either could not do, or did not want to do. The wife of the peasant had a life less varied and attractive, but not less engrossed with never-ending toil than that of her husband.

Yet it must not be supposed that existence in these transitional times was all work and no play. Sundays, and saints' days in particular, provided many intervals in which not only was worship offered up, but also sport of an energetic

kind was indulged in. Till the beginning of the sixteenth century the tournament continued to supply the knighthood of Europe with its supreme and most splendid diversion. Tournaments, however, could not long survive the advent of artillery; they were doomed as soon as lances and armor ceased to have any relation to the stern and serious business of war. Hunting and hawking remained the principal sports of the gentry.

For those in more lowly walks of life bull-baiting and cock-fighting provided recreative, if not edifying, spectacles. All sorts and conditions of men and women, moreover, with childlike zest prolonged far into middle life, danced and tumbled, played blind man's buff (in which the buffing was by no means gentle), leapfrog, battledore and shuttlecock, and many other lively games. A special and remarkable development during the sixteenth century, especially for dwellers in the rising towns and cities, was the pageant, whose rich colors and gorgeous appointments exercised an irresistible fascination for the apprentices and journeymen of the age. Rapidly, under the stimulus of immense popularity, did the pageants transmute themselves into the proper drama. Before the end of the sixteenth century the modern theater was in being.

Nor, while such public diversions provided amusement for the commonalty, was there any lack of indoor games. Chess and "tables" (backgammon) had been played from time immemorial, usually to the accompaniment of high gambling, fierce wrangling and frequent blows. Draughts, under the name of "dames," a very ancient game, was remodeled and popularized in France towards the end of the Middle Ages. Cards had supplanted chess as prime favorite in the fourteenth century.



A LITTER ON ITS WAY

In medieval times the roads were incredibly bad, little better than tracks, and usually too soft for wheeled traffic. Thus horse litters such as the one illustrated here were a form of vehicle preferable to the heavy wagons.

Durrieu, 'Les Antiquités Judaïques'

Perhaps, too, among diversions, although ancient moralists regarded it as an abomination and a snare, should be included the novel practice of smoking. Tobacco was introduced into Europe from America. One of the companions of Columbus reported upon it from Haiti as early as 1496. At first it was used medicinally, particularly in lung troubles.

Smoking was for long an expensive habit. Tobacco at the end of the sixteenth century cost what would be equivalent to twenty-five shillings an ounce in present-day English money. Hence smoking was the mark of a wealthy man. Pipes were very small, and it was the custom to hand a pipe round from one person to another so that a single charge could serve a considerable company. When tobacco had become reasonably cheap, the circulation of a public pipe now and again during the evening came to be one of the most potent attractions of inns and alehouses.

Mention of inns and ale-houses reminds us that there was a great deal of passing to and fro during the centuries under review. Readers of Jusserand's fascinating book "English Wayfaring Life" will recollect what a wonderful picture gallery he has given us of a moving host of her herbalists, minstrels, jugglers, tumblers, messengers, merchants, pedlars, tramps, outlaws, pilgrims, pardoners, preachers, friars and others, in the fourteenth century. With the closing of the Middle Ages some of these picturesque travelers ceased to frequent the roads.

MINSTRELS and mummers found a world both too serious and too busy to pay much attention to their performances. Pardoners suffered from a decline in the demand for their commodities, no matter how hot from Rome they were supplied. Even pilgrims, inspired by the passion to be anywhere rather than the place in which they happened to be, found

A GAME OF CHESS

Chess was introduced into Europe in the eleventh century and was the favorite indoor recreation until supplanted in the fourteenth century by cards. As shown in this manuscript of about 1500, chess was played by both men and women.

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 143; photo, Catala Frères

wild adventure on the unknown seas more attractive than the old land routes to the sanctuaries of the saints. Outlaws were in most parts of Europe extinguished, and were but imperfectly represented by the occasional highwaymen.

On the other hand, merchants traveling on business, diplomats hurrying hither and thither on affairs of state, young men of fashion making the grand tour for pleasure and edification, greatly increased in number. The poor still journeyed on foot, and the main roads of the Continent swarmed with miscellaneous bands of the uprooted and unattached, who demanded charity with a determination to get it, or work with a fixed resolve to do as little of it as possible, or, if occasion offered, presented the alternative "your money or your life," with an insatiable passion for the one and a supreme disregard of the other.

For the eminent or well-to-do, horseback continued to be the principal means of locomotion, and horsemen usually traveled in considerable companies, attended by large bodies of servants, all armed to the teeth, because of the numerous perils of the way. Coaches—said to have been invented by a fifteenth-century Hungarian named Kotze—were, it is true, coming into vogue. But the roads were still too bad to render wheeled traffic easy or comfortable. The secret of road-making had perished with the Romans, and even after a thousand years or more the great highways built to connect the capital of the Caesars with its dependent provinces were the best means of communication that Europe afforded. Cross-country roads differed from the ploughed fields through which they passed only by being more soft, more treacherous, more impassable than they. Coaches would seldom venture to set out with fewer than six horses to drag them through the mud, and even with six they would not expect to cover more than twenty miles a day.

In such conditions of slow but constant movement inns and hostelries were prime necessities, more particularly when the decline or fall of the monastic system had impoverished or destroyed the great guest houses of the Middle Ages. The accommodation as a rule provided would not have appealed to our modern sense of luxury. The guests, irrespective of number or rank, had commonly to share a single barn-like bed-chamber, unwarmed and ill-lighted. Generally, too, it was infested by fleas and other vermin, to say nothing of mice and rats. In many of the smaller hostelries travelers were expected to supply their own food, so that the landlord or the alewife was responsible only for the beds and the drinks, together with fodder for the horses.

A VIVID picture of wayfaring life in the fifteenth century is presented in Charles Reade's famous novel, "The Cloister and the Hearth," and, though it is avowedly fiction, it is yet based upon so wide a research and so penetrating a knowledge that, as an authentic representation of the time, it is to be preferred to almost all formal histories. Readers will remember that as the hero, the father of Erasmus, made his way from the Low Countries across Europe, not only did he meet with many alarming adventures, but, even when he was not in danger of instant death, he constantly mingled, especially in the inns and hostelries of his journey, with men and women whose manners and whose morals were amazingly free and easy. However formal and precise had become the etiquette of chivalry, in the common walks of life a startling absence of ceremony was manifested. People did not wait for introductions before they talked to one another; they did not talk long to one another before they felt free to quarrel; and quarrels led quickly to blows with fists and interchanges with swords or daggers. Hence, brawls were incessant and the sacrifice of human life a thing of little moment and of everyday occurrence.

A sensitive and humanitarian age finds it difficult to realize, on the one hand, the callousness and impunity with which men slew their neighbors, and, on the other hand, the supreme indifference with which, when their own time came, they went open-eyed to death. For instance, William Harrison, writing of English criminals at the close of the sixteenth century, says:

> Our condemned persons do go cheerfully to their deaths; for our nation is free, stout, haughty, prodigal of life and blood.

Sir Thomas Smith, in his "Commonwealth of England," had expressed much the same judgement respecting the men of an earlier generation.

The same lack of sensitiveness as displayed itself in the great matters of life and death was manifested in the normal intercourse of the world. No reader of the dramas of the sixteenth century in any language, and no student of the mysteries and miracle plays which preceded the drama proper, will be under any illusions respecting the brutal coarseness of the period. Scenes were depicted on the stage which could not now be shown even in a Mexican picture-palace. Dialogues were written and recited which today would make even Parisian actresses blush beneath their rouge. So in the inns and hostelries, where no privacy of any sort

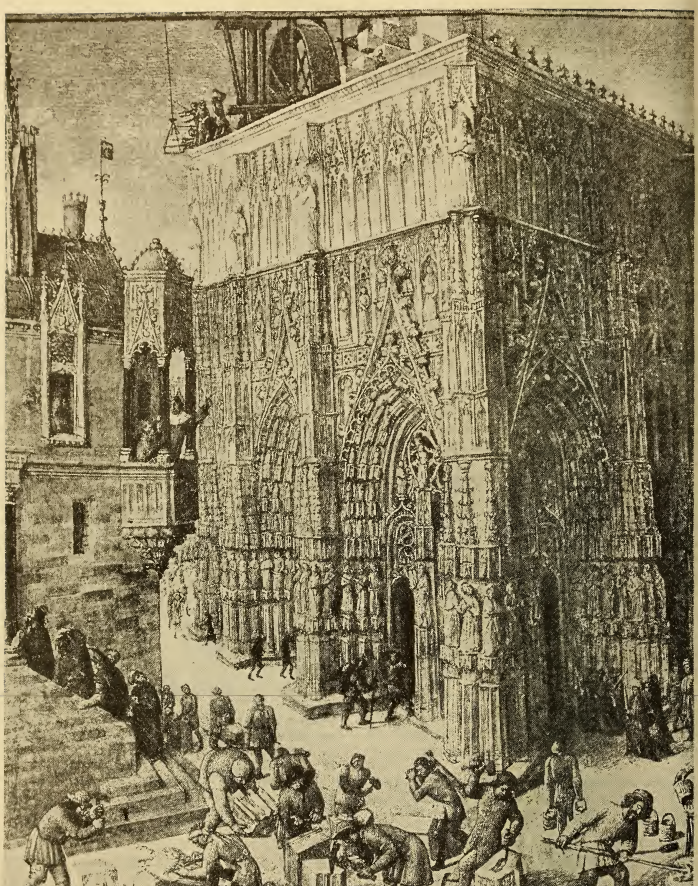
A PATTERN OF DOMESTICITY

Woman's place in the sixteenth century was her home, and her time was fully occupied with spinning, sewing, housework and care of her children. The model housewife of about 1520 is thus embodied in stone in Chartres Cathedral.

Photo, Étienne Houvet

was possible, even among sober, respectable and pious pilgrims, occurrences were constantly and inevitably taking place which today would be regarded as being grossly immodest.

Moreover, this grossness and coarseness of behavior was not restricted to conduct on the road, in inns, or even in private houses. It was manifested in rich impropriety in the Church itself. Irreverence was rampant, being made more easy and natural by the fact that the church building was used for many purposes besides those of worship—purposes which



KING AND PEOPLE CO-OPERATE IN CHURCH BUILDING

This picture of the Building of the Temple, executed, with others, between 1455 and 1476 by Jean Fouquet, painter to Louis XI, for a copy of Josephus' 'Antiquities of the Jews,' exemplifies the enthusiasm for church building that animated all classes of society in that age. The architectural style of the temple is French Gothic of the second half of the fifteenth century, as also is that of the palace from a loggia in which the king watches and encourages his people at their work.

Bibliothèque Nationale; from Durrieu, 'Antiquités Judaïques'

we should call secular. In its nave parochial meetings were held; in its tower grain was stored; during invasion, civil wars or local brawls its strong walls were employed as ramparts against the enemy. The priest, too—usually an impecunious vicar—was generally drawn from the same social class as his rural congregation; he made no pretence to superior education, higher rank, or even greater piety.

MANIFESTLY, the Church was declining and was waging a losing battle against the forces of heresy and schism which prevailed during this transitional century. The seed of rationalism sown by Wycliffe and his Lollard preachers in England was never wholly eradicated even by the severe persecution instituted under Henry IV. From England it spread to Bohemia and displayed an amazing vitality under the fostering hands of John Huss, Jerome of Prague and their disciples. In vain did the clergy organize missions; in vain did prelates and monarchs launch crusades. For the first time in her long career Catholicism found herself faced by foes which she was unable to overcome.

One cause of this inability was undoubtedly the fact that Catholicism had been weakened as never before by internal dissensions; another cause was the fact

SCENES OF MEDIEVAL HUSBANDRY IN WESTERN EUROPE

It is refreshing to find amid the unearthly splendors of monastic illuminations and the monotonous trappings of chivalry, a group of fifteenth-century French and Flemish manuscripts depicting the daily life of the soil. Ploughing, sowing, harrowing and reaping are all revealed as simultaneous operations. From such one may gain an excellent idea of the rural background of the life of medieval times.

British Museum; Additional MS. 19,720

that rationalism in religion was immensely aided and reinforced by the assured triumphs of the human reason in the spheres of criticism and science. Lorenzo Valla's demonstration (1439) of the falsity of the so-called Donation of Constantine, by appeal to which the Church had supported her claim to temporal sovereignty, inflicted a damaging blow to ecclesiastical prestige. The new view of the heavens revealed by Copernicus threw out of focus the whole scheme of medieval thought which had implied a geocentric universe. It was to no purpose that the Church placed the works of Copernicus on the Index and forbade the faithful to read them. The process of erosive scepticism could not be stayed, and its ravages were all the more deadly because the pure air of free discussion was strictly excluded from the fabric of the faith.

In the rank growth of heresy, the violence of schism, the prevalence of immorality and the spread of unbelief the Church professed to see conclusive evidence of the unloosing of the devil and ominous indications of the impending end of the world. Until the fourteenth century, from the dawn of medieval times, the devil had been treated as a rather ridiculous figure. He was, in fact, the prototype of the clown of the modern pantomime. He was regarded as being full of all malice, tricky, unscrupulous, naughty; but impotent, slightly stupid, and easily frustrated by a prayer, by the sign of the cross, by a drop of holy water, or by the presence of a sacred relic. The fourteenth century, particularly after the scourge of the Black Death had run its destructive course, began to take the devil more seriously than before—with appalling results.

Demonology tended to vie with theology as a subject of study and meditation. Sermons more and more came to dwell and dilate upon the horrors of hell and the perils of possession by evil spirits. Monstrous and terrifying pictures of the tortures of the damned were painted upon the walls of churches. Above all, belief in witchcraft spread, and a frightful persecution of suspected witches set in—a persecution which is one of the darkest blots on the history of Christian civilization during the three centuries 1400-1700. These were really the "Dark Ages."

Tens of thousands of persons suffered agonizing tortures and an execrated death, darkened by the assurance of everlasting damnation, for an offence of which not only were they innocent, but of which it is impossible that any one should ever be guilty. The records of the sixteenth century are ghastly in their revelation of the triumph of sanguinary superstition. For example, in a single year four hundred persons were burned for sorcery at Toulouse; in another year, five hundred at Geneva; in another, six hundred at Bamberg; in another, nine hundred at Würzburg. The city of Trèves alone is said to have seen in the course of the century no fewer than seven thousand executions for witchcraft and sorcery.

The gross credulity and helpless irrationality which displayed itself so terribly in the persecution of alleged witched and sorcerers had other and (to modern readers) more diverting manifestations in the treatment of ailments and diseases. No knowledge of anatomy distracted the medieval medical man in his dealings with his patients. No attempt to discover the cause of an illness interfered with the application of entirely irrelevant remedies. Supernatural agencies were everywhere assumed to be in operation; disease was due to sin, or was a divine chastisement, or a diabolical temptation, or anything except the effect of a natural cause. Hence faith, and incantations, and astrological devices were the prime factors in effecting cures. The following, for example, is a specific for use in cases of consumption:

> Take thrift-grass, betony, penny-grass, fennel, Christmas wort and borage, and make them into a potion with clear ale. Sing seven Masses over the plants daily, add holy water, and drink the draught out of the church bell, while the priest sings "Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens."

Bleeding was the remedy resorted to in most cases of doubt. But here, again, the efficacy of the remedy was supposed to depend mainly on the particular period of the month when it was applied. It was, for instance, wholly precluded "when the light of the moon and the tide of the ocean are increasing." No wonder that with such medicine and such surgery, unrelieved by either antiseptics or anaesthetics, the birthrate in Europe scarcely exceeded the deathrate, that population was nearly stationary, and that the life

of the average individual was "nasty, brutish and short."

The ills that flesh is naturally heir to were greatly increased and aggravated by those which Man inflicted upon his fellows. We have already seen how religious persecution and witch hunting augmented the sum total of human misery at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times. We have now to note how savage and vindictive were the penalties inflicted for violations of the civil law. Apparently in that rude and brutal age no punishments that were not ferocious in their severity could be counted on as deterrent. Moreover, so inefficient was the police organization—unpaid, unwilling, amateur—that comparatively few criminals were ever caught; hence, when any one was actually secured it was felt necessary to make an impressive example of the unhappy captive.

PENALTY of death was inflicted not only, as generally at the present time, for treason and for murder, but also commonly for such offences as burglary, larceny, arson and sacrilege. Hanging was the normal method of execution; it took place openly, wherever tree or artificial erection provided the necessary attachment for the rope; the local butcher was the usual agent of justice; the corpse of the dead malefactor was left suspended as a warning to the living until the crows had rendered it unrecognizable. Sometimes, instead of hanging, traditional custom decreed other modes of extinguishing life, such as decapitation, drowning, or precipitation from a cliff. In the Scilly Isles the practice was to place the condemned criminal on a certain rock which at low tide was uncovered but at high tide deeply submerged, and there to leave him until the slow, remorseless incoming of the ocean terminated his agony.

Almost worse than the public executions were the horrible mutilations that were inflicted for various offences. Men were deprived of hands, or feet, or ears; their noses were slit; they were branded with hot irons; they were blinded in one or both eyes. Since warriors in the course of honorable campaigns, as well as malefactors, were liable to these painful and incapacitating mutilations, it was customary for a truncated military man or terminating his period of service to procure a certificate from his commander to the effect that he had lost his ear, or eye, or arm, not as a criminal, but as a combatant. Compared with executions and mutilations, the punishments inflicted by means of stocks, pillory, whipping-cart, or ducking-

A PUBLIC HANGING IN 1460

Hanging was the usual mode of execution in England, done publicly and causing death by strangulation, not, as now, by fracture of the cervical vertebrae. The death penalty was inflicted for many crimes besides murder. This picture illustrates a legend of the Virgin intervening to save a victim's life.

Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. français 9,198; photo, Catala Frères

stool were mild and even humorous.

The severity of the law had its counterpart in the severity of education. There seems to have been singularly little joy in either the schools or the universities of the sixteenth century. All work and no play; incessant inquisitorial supervision and no freedom; frequent punishment and no reward, appear to have made Jack a very dull boy, a very disagreeable sneak and a very malicious bully. The prime qualification for a schoolmaster was not knowledge of anything whatsoever, but ability to wield the instruments of castigation. For instance, when at Cambridge University a student applied for his degree as a Master in Grammar he was required to provide himself with a birch rod and a palmer (an implement for hitting the hand), and to give a public demonstration of his skill upon a boy hired for the purpose.

In fine, the world of the sixteenth century was a hard world, a cruel world, a world marked by a singular absence of affection and by a conspicuous lack of joy. It was a world oppressed by superstition, darkened by demonology, haunted by imminent death and terrified by anticipated damnation. Nevertheless, it was a world on which the light of the Renaissance had dawned; a world in which the Reformation was opening a way which ultimately would lead to rationality and toleration; a world to which exploration and discovery were presenting incalculable possibilities.

MEDIEVAL FAMILY AT DINNER

There is quite a modern note in the picture of a medieval family at dinner. The fashion for a musical accompaniment to meals was popular even in those days; the family pet is a dog, and a beggar who approaches is requested to move on.

British Museum, Additional MS. 28, 162

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXIV

A.D.

1556 India: Humayun d.; acc. Akbar. Decisive victory of Akbar and Bairam at Panipat.

1558 Francis of Guise captures Calais; loss of England's only foothold in Europe.
Mary Stuart m. dauphin Francis.
Mary Tudor d.; acc. Elizabeth.
India: Akbar takes Rajput stronghold of Chitor.

1560 Francis II d.; acc. Charles IX. Queen mother Catherine de' Medici regent.
Scotland: Mary of Lorraine d. Treaty of Leith ends the old French alliance and establishes the Reformation.
Sweden: Gustavus Vasa d.; acc. Eric XIV.
India: Akbar dismisses Bairam.
Japan: War of Nobunaga and Iyeyasu.

1561 Japan: Alliance of Nobunaga and Iyeyasu.
Scotland: return of Mary from France.

1562 Third session of Council of Trent, in which no Protestants take part.
Massacre of Vassy opens French wars of religion.

1563 Council of Trent lays down permanent definitions of (Roman) Catholic doctrine.
Murder of Francis of Guise. First War of Religion ended by peace of Amboise.
India: Akbar conquers Gujarat.

1564 Ferdinand I d.; Maximilian II emperor.
Birth of Galileo and Shakespeare.

1566 Suleiman the Magnificent d.; acc. Selim II.

1567 Second French War of Religion.
Alva sent to Netherlands; reign of terror.
Scotland: murder of Darnley.

1568 Peace of Longjumeau, followed by outbreak of Third War of Religion.
Revolt in Netherlands by Lewis of Nassau. Execution of Egmont and Hoorne.
Mary q. of Scots takes flight to England, where she is held prisoner for eighteen years.
Eric of Sweden deposed by his brother.

1569 Huguenots defeated at Jarnac and Montcontour.

1570 Pacification of St. Germain. Increasing influence of Coligny.
Pius V issues bull deposing Elizabeth.

1571 Turks capture Cyprus from Venice, but are heavily defeated by Don John "of Austria" in great sea-fight of Lepanto.
Ridolfi plot to set Mary on English throne.

1572 Capture of Brille by Netherlands "Sea Beggars" begins the great War of Independence.
Henry of Navarre m. Marguerite of Valois; Huguenots assembled in Paris slaughtered in massacre of S. Bartholomew.

1573 Japan: Nobunaga ends Ashikaga Shogunate.
Requesens in Netherlands and seeks to reconcile Catholic provinces.

1573-82 Japan: Nobunaga with Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu suppresses feudal independence.

1574 Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered."
Siege of Leydon.
Selim II d.; Murad III acc.

1576 Requesens d. Pacification of Ghent.
Don John takes Requesens' place.

1576 Acc. Rudolf II emperor.
India: Akbar conquers Bengal.

A.D.

1577 Don John issues Perpetual Edict which again dissolves unity of the provinces.
France: Seven years' pacification by Edict of Bergerac.
Drake starts on voyage of circumnavigation.

1579 Protestant Netherlands in Union of Utrecht, ultimately forming Dutch Republic, seek French (failing English) support. The south remains in Philip's allegiance.

1580 Philip claims (through his mother) Portuguese crown, ignoring house of Braganza.
Great Jesuit campaign in England.

1581 Francis of Anjou, heir presumptive of French throne, goes to United Provinces.

1582 Gregory XIII introduces Gregorian Calendar.
India: Akbar sets up a new religion.
Japan: Nobunaga d.; ascendancy of Hideyoshi.

1583 Treason and flight of Francis of Anjou.

1584 Assassination of William the Silent. His son Maurice of Nassau captain-general.
Ivan the Terrible d.; acc. Feodor (Theodore), last tsar of the house of Rurik.

1585 Acc. Pope Sixtus V.
Spain and England declare war. Leicester goes to Netherlands; Drake sails to Cartagena.
Raleigh's first Virginia colony.

1586 Babington's plot; trial and condemnation of Mary q. of Scots.

1587 Mary beheaded. Drake destroys Spanish shipping in Cadiz harbor.
Sigismund, crown prince of Sweden, k. of Poland.
Japan: Hideyoshi's supremacy established; expulsion of Jesuits.

1588 Henry III assassinates Guise and joins Henry of Navarre.
Spanish Armada sails (July), and is broken up in battle of Gravelines; its remnants are shattered by storms.

1590 Japan: Hideyoshi plans conquest of China.

1591 India: Akbar annexes Orissa.

1592 Clement IX pope.
Japan: Hideyoshi's first invasion of Korea.

1593 Henry IV conversion to Catholicism.

1594 Henry declares war on Philip.

1595 Pope Clement recognizes Henry as k. of France.
India: Akbar annexes Kandahar.

1596 English raid on Cadiz.
India: Akbar annexes Berar.

1597 Japan: Hideyoshi expels Catholic missionaries.

1598 Japan: Hideyoshi d. after capturing Seoul. His policy of expansion is dropped.
Sweden: Sigismund retires to Poland, leaving Charles governor.
Russia: Tsar Feodor d.; Boris Godunov tsar.
Henry IV makes peace of Vervins with Philip; issues Edict of Nantes, securing Huguenot liberties.

THE AGE OF PHILIP II OF SPAIN: 1555—1598

THE abdication of Charles V, begun in 1555 and completed in 1556, marks the close of the first stage of the Reformation, both in its political and in its religious aspect. The states of Europe had definitely taken the color which they were to retain from that day, and the last hope of reconciling Protestant and Romanist had disappeared. Religion had not, up to that time, provided a motive for international contests, though it had caused civil war in Germany, which was on the point of finding its counterpart in France.

At the moment, in England, a Romanist reaction on the part of the government was in full swing; but it had no chance of surviving the impending accession of the reigning Queen Mary's sister Elizabeth, who, whatever her theological views might be, was debarred from Romanism politically by the fact that no Romanist from the pope down could admit the legitimacy of her birth. In Scotland a Romanist regency was still fighting a Protestant nobility backed by Protestant popular sentiment, which were sure of victory if once support from England were forthcoming. The Scandinavian countries were definitely Protestant, Spain and Italy definitely Romanist. In Germany Protestant and Romanist principalities were intermingled, Romanists preponderating in the south, Protestants in the north. In France the Huguenots were in a minority, but were headed by some of the most powerful nobles, while the royal family was for the most part fanatically orthodox, as was the capital, the Huguenot strength being in the south.

THE abdication of Charles gave Spain, the Sicilies, the Netherlands and the New World to his son Philip II, but transferred the imperial succession to the Austrian branch of the Hapsburgs. Ferdinand, Charles' brother, who now became emperor, aimed at maintaining in the Empire the compromise between the religions which he had been mainly instrumental in effecting at Passau and Augsburg. Philip, on the other hand, looked on himself as the instrument chosen for the stamping out of heresy not only in his own dominions but elsewhere also; a theory which for the time made close association impossible between the two branches of the Hapsburgs. All through his reign he was the dominant figure in western Europe, because his power and ambitions were a constant menace both to France and to England.

PHILIP's weakness lay primarily in the fact that neither territorially nor politically was his gigantic dominion consolidated. None of its four divisions could communicate with another except by sea, without the leave and good will of intervening potentates. By sea, the Mediterranean between Spain and Italy or Sicily was comparatively secure, but the Netherlands could be reached only by way of the narrow seas between England and France, so that open hostility with either of those countries made the passage extremely precarious; while the ocean route to the New World was open to the predatory attacks of lawless adventurers of all nations, as well as of the naval squadrons of enemy states.

Politically, the work of Charles V had made it comparatively easy for his son to establish his autocracy in Spain and the Sicilies, but in the Netherlands the king of Spain was a foreigner ruling arbitrarily through alien ministers supported by alien troops in complete disregard of traditional liberties which none of his Burgundian predecessors had ventured to ignore. The result was that the Netherlands were goaded into revolt early in Philip's reign, and the attempt to suppress them kept his best troops and his ablest officers ceaselessly occupied till the end of it, when the independence of the Dutch republic was in sight.

At the moment of Philip's accession England was no more than a minor power, whose queen was actually the wife of the new king of Spain—the result of the misgovernment which had followed the death of Henry VIII. The country was in need

of recuperation and reorganization before it could again take its place as a first-class power. The heiress designate of the crown had not, according to the Roman view, been born in wedlock, and from that point of view the legitimate heiress was the young queen of Scots, whose mother, Mary of Guise, was regent in Scotland while she herself was in France and on the point of marrying the French dauphin.

Should the succession be disputed, France stood to gain by the success of Mary queen of Scots, which for that very reason would not at all suit Philip, who took for granted that Elizabeth would feel herself to be his dependent; whereas what Elizabeth saw, when she did succeed in 1558, was that Philip could not afford to endanger her tenure of the English throne. Hence she was able to proceed on her own devious way with a more or less polite disregard of Philip's efforts to frighten her into going his, until England was strong enough to make further politeness superfluous, and Mary was prisoner in England instead of queen in Scotland.

In France, on the other hand, the antagonism between Huguenots and Catholics was growing continuously more acute. The most powerful among the nobles were the brothers of the house of Guise, a junior branch of the old house of Anjou, of which the senior branch were now dukes of Lorraine; and they were zealous Catholics. The official leader of the Huguenots was Antony of Bourbon, the husband of the queen of Navarre and father of the future Henry IV. When the reigning king Henry II died in 1559 he left four sons, of whom the eldest, Francis was sixteen. After them, Antony of Bourbon was next heir.

Francis and his newly married wife, Mary of Scotland, became king and queen of France and Scotland, but on his death next year Mary returned to Scotland, and the queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, secured the regency and was practically the ruler of France almost throughout the successive reigns of her second and third sons, none of whom had offspring. She, in fact, favored the Catholics but feared the Guises; her primary aim was to prevent either Catholics or Huguenots from winning such a domination as would threaten her own ascendancy; so for forty years France was without a settled policy, and was repeatedly plunged in civil war with religious politics as motive.

The second session of the Council of Trent was broken up by the successes of Maurice of Saxony in 1552; nearly ten years passed before it met again under Pius IV (1559-65). Meanwhile, the Papacy had begun to set its own house in order. Paul IV (1555-59) was a zealous reformer of morals and

TREZZO'S MEDAL OF MARY TUDOR

Jacopo da Trezzo, Milanese goldsmith, made this medal about 1554. On the obverse is a fine portrait of the queen. The reverse depicts her as Peace burning the implements of war and restoring sight to the blind.

British Museum

discipline, and set his successors a much needed example by abolishing the nepotism which his predecessors had practiced habitually for a hundred years past. The man who had organized the Roman Inquisition after the Spanish model was rigid in the suppression of heresy, with which he would have no compromise, but was no less an enemy of laxity, and the popes who followed him took the same line under the stress of a public opinion which was much more favorable to fanaticism than to carelessness.

Thus when the Council was once more summoned for its third and last session in 1562, Lutherans, Calvinists and Anglicans were unrepresented; and the decrees promulgated on its dissolution in 1563 were, in the main, the authoritative exposition of the dogmas of what Rome recognized as the Catholic faith and of the papal claims to authority. The latter, however, were not all admitted by the monarchs and governments that remained within the dogmatic pale. The Gallican church in particular declined to subscribe to them, as contravening the independence it had always claimed; and Philip personally regarded the pope as a colleague rather than a superior.

MARY OF GUISE

Mary of Guise (1515-60) married James V as her second husband in 1538, and as regent of Scotland during the minority of her daughter, Mary queen of Scots, showed great political astuteness. Sir Antonio Moro did this portrait.

Collection of Leopold Hirsch

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Throughout her dramatic and passionate life Mary queen of Scots (1542-87) was the storm center of political and religious intrigue. This portrait was painted by François Clouet, in 1559, the year after her marriage to Francis II.

Bibliothèque Nationale; photo, Giraudon

Paradoxically enough, Philip was hardly seated on the Spanish throne when he found himself forced into war with Paul IV, who wanted to turn the Hapsburgs out of Italy, and appealed to France for aid. Philip drew Queen Mary's government in England into the strife, though the administration there had gone so entirely to pieces that plunging into war was the wildest folly. The result was that the duke of Guise captured Calais, and England lost the foothold in France which she had held for two centuries (January, 1558). Otherwise the military

successes were preponderantly Spanish; but religious scruples made Philip and Alva, his general in Italy, more anxious to recover the pope's favor than to take full advantage of his defeat. The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, that ended the war in 1559, reconciled Spain with the Papacy, and, Calais apart, restored the pre-war conditions.

Elizabeth was already seated on the English throne. The deaths of Henry II of France in the same year and of his Guise-ridden son Francis II in 1560 gave the crown to the boy Charles IX and the regency to Catherine de' Medici. Elizabeth's intervention in Scotland and the death of the regent Mary of Guise or Lorraine in 1560 gave the control in that country to the reforming party, who were intensely hostile to French influences hitherto prevalent; and in 1561 the widowed Mary Stuart, not yet nineteen, embarked on that stormy career in Scotland which ended with her flight to England in 1568.

The English queen sought religious peace at home by requiring outward conformity to formulæ which permitted such wide diversity of doctrine and ceremonial as satisfied the great majority of her subjects. In France no such solution of the religious antagonisms was possible; there the one way to pacification was not comprehensiveness but toleration; no compromise could bring Catholics and Huguenots into one fold, and the two parties were organized up to such a point that the suppression of one by the other could only be effected by decisive victory in the field. Political unity required that they should agree to differ and to live and let live, so far as religion was concerned, and this was the aim of the small group of politicians with whom the queen-mother associated herself, since her dread of the Guises prevented her from definitely attaching herself to the party of which they were the leaders.

UNDER these influences an edict issued early in 1562 relaxed the penalties which Guise influence had imposed on the Huguenots and in some degree sanctioned the Huguenot worship; to the extreme indignation of the Guises and the Catholics generally. A league was formed, which Antony was bribed into joining by specious promises. There was a collision at Vassy between some of Francis of Guise's troops and a congregation of unarmed Huguenots, in which some scores of the latter were killed and many more were wounded, and the duke on his arrival in Paris after the "Massacre of Vassy" was greeted as a hero by the fanatical city. The Huguenots, headed by Antony's brother Condé and Admiral Coligny (whose title did not mean that he was in fact a sailor), took up arms. Antony, commanding government troops,

A CHAMPION OF CHRISTENDOM

Philip II (1527-98) became king of Spain on the abdication of his father, the emperor Charles V, in 1556, two years after his marriage to Mary I, queen of England. This portrait was painted by Titian in 1552.

National Museum, Naples; photo, Anderson

was killed; a pitched battle was fought at Dreux, in which the commanders on both sides, Condé and the constable Montmorency, were taken prisoners, and both sides claimed the victory. Guise was assassinated by a Huguenot fanatic, and the Peace of Amboise (1563) was arranged by which further though still very restricted concessions were made to the Huguenots.

The Guises had been able to pose as the royal government, having Catherine and the young king in their hands, and the world at large credited her with favoring persecution. That belief, and the mistrust of her, were intensified when in 1565 she visited her daughter (whom Philip had married when Mary Tudor died) and interviewed Alva, whose ideas on the subject were notorious and were about to be savagely expressed in the Netherlands. But in fact she still dreaded the League, though the new duke of Guise, Henry, was a boy hardly older than Antony's son, the young Henry of Navarre, whose mother was bringing him up as a Calvinist; Catherine's wish was to hold the balance between the two parties.

She refused then to sanction persecution, but the mistrust grew as Alva developed his policy in the Netherlands. Huguenots suspected that she was merely biding her time to strike when Alva and his troops should be within call. In 1567 they planned a coup de main to seize the king's person and compel further concessions and securities. The plot miscarried; Catherine was violently alienated, but the old constable Montmorency was killed at an indecisive engagement at St. Denis, and a truce was patched up which confirmed the Amboise treaty (March, 1568). But the moderates gave place to Guise partizans in the Council, the pope, Pius V, absolved Catherine from her promises, a decree was issued forbidding Huguenot worship on pain of death, and before the year was out the third of the wars of religion was in full operation.

Condé was defeated and killed at Jarnac in March. Coligny's skill was crippled by lack of funds, and he too was defeated in October, 1569; but Catherine again drew back. Henry of Guise and his uncles were in high favor with Philip of Spain, who was obviously hoping through them to ob-

LA ROCHELLE, THE HUGUENOTS' STRONGHOLD

This fifteenth-century plan shows the fortifications which enabled La Rochelle to withstand more than one determined siege. The two towers, built in 1375 and 1384, defending the harbor and the lantern tower of 1445 at the south-west angle (top right) are preserved in Vauban's existing fortifications.

British Museum

MEMORIAL OF A POLITICAL CRIME

This medal commemorates the murder of William the Silent, July 10, 1584. It shows on the obverse Balthazar Gerard, instigated by Philip II, firing at William, and on the reverse the Spanish wolf flying at the Dutch shepherd. The legend promises vengeance for the atrocious crime and preaches mistrust of Spain.

British Museum

tain control of the French government; the independence not only of Catherine but of France herself was threatened. In the summer of 1570 the war was brought to an end by the treaty of St. Germain, which confirmed once more the previous rights of the Huguenots, and placed in their hands four towns. The possession of the port of La Rochelle gave them a stronghold that was of the utmost value to them for sixty years to come.

It appeared that the outcome of a war which had gone decidedly against the Huguenots was to be the victory of their cause. The nobles returned to court and to favor. Henry of Navarre, not yet twenty, was betrothed to the king's youngest sister Margaret. Coligny acquired a strong personal influence over King Charles, whom he inspired with his own patriotic hostility to foreign influences and especially to Philip, and encouraged in his desire to take the reins of government from his mother's hands into his own. The marriage of Henry and Margaret was to be celebrated in Paris in August, 1572, and the triumphant Huguenots flocked to the capital for the occasion in vast numbers.

But the reaction had filled Henry of Guise and Henry of Anjou, the king's next brother, with rage and Catherine with panic when she saw her own hitherto supreme influence with the king giving way to Coligny's. The marriage had already taken place (August 18) when the three agreed that Coligny must be removed. The attempt to assassinate him failed (August 22) and Paris was flung into wild excitement. Then the three came to their desperate resolve, and coerced Charles into giving his miserable consent. The horror was skillfully planned, and on the morning of S. Bartholomew's day (August 24) the gutters of

BOURBONS, CATHOLIC AND HUGUENOT

Francis II (right) was born in 1544, and in 1559 became king of France, but died in 1560 without issue. After his brothers, of whom two became king as Charles IX and Henry III, the heir presumptive was Antony of Bourbon (left), the father, by the queen of Navarre, of Henry IV.

Drawings by François Clouet, Bibliothèque Nationale; photos, Giraudon

Paris were running with the blood of the Huguenots who had been massacred before dawn. Other towns made haste to follow the example set by the capital, computations of the slaughter ranging from ten to fifty thousand or even more. Among the victims was Coligny; Henry of Navarre and his young cousin of Condé escaped the murder but were required to renounce their faith, and were held in practical captivity for some years thereafter.

MEANWHILE the Netherlands were passing through the preliminary stages leading up to their revolt and the long and ultimately successful struggle of the northern provinces for religious freedom and political independence. The Netherlands, though technically the "Burgundian Circle" of the Empire, were not under the jurisdiction of the emperor or the diets. They consisted of a number of provinces with diverse institutions and traditions, which marriages and diplomacy had accumulated in the hands of the dukes of Burgundy, and so had formed part of the inheritance of Charles V. Charles himself, born and for the most part bred in the Netherlands, had gone as far as he could venture in the direction of centralizing the government and repressing heresy; but his ministers were Netherlanders, and both Lutheranism and Calvinism had held their ground in spite of his efforts, mainly in the northern provinces and in Brabant.

ADMIRAL COLIGNY

Gaspard de Coligny (1519-72) became the active leader of the Protestant party in France about 1557 and, after Condé's death in 1569, sole commander of the Huguenot army.

François Clouet; photo, Giraudon

Philip, on the other hand, was a Spaniard who cared nothing for his northern subjects, had no sort of sympathy with or understanding of them, and was in their eyes an alien. When his French war was ended by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis he left the country never to return to it in person; and instead of entrusting the governorship to one of the native nobles, he appointed his half-sister, Margaret duchess of Parma, with a council of three; whose authority overrode that of the council of state, hitherto the chief governing body consisting mainly of the nobles, whereas the new body commanded no confidence. Protestantism was to be severely repressed, and the ecclesiastical organization of the province was to be reconstructed on lines which were resented as much by Catholics as by Protestants.

The leaders of the native nobility were Count Egmont, who was a distinguished soldier and a loyal Catholic, and William, prince of Orange and Nassau, who was not yet a declared Protestant and had been in high favor with Charles V. The moving spirit of the government was Granvella, archbishop of Mechlin. In 1563, Egmont, Orange and Admiral Hoorne petitioned Philip for the removal of Granvella. He was removed, but Philip continued to act on his advice. In 1565 Egmont with Margaret's approval, was sent to Spain to urge the series of reforms needed if the loyalty of the Netherlands was to be saved. Philip wanted not loyalty but subjection; and after some months of delay he flatly rejected the reforms and ordered the decrees against the Protestants to be rigorously enforced, in the Edict of Segovia.

So far matters had been left to the nobles. Their failure drove the minor nobles and others to form a new and more defiant league against the government, headed by William's brother Lewis of Nassau. Another petition of protest was forwarded to Philip, who replied by promising some minor concessions which he had no intention of carrying out. The dissatisfied confederates presented a new petition to the regent, who received it coldly, and the confederates—from whom

CATHERINE DE' MEDICI

This portrait, painted late in life, reveals the strong character of Catherine de' Medici (1519-89), who as queen consort and queen mother dominated France for half a century.

The Louvre; photo, Archives photographiques

the greater nobles still held aloof—prepared to offer armed resistance. But at this moment there was a sudden outbreak, entirely popular in character, of Protestant fanaticism, which injured their cause, the political leaders being bound to stand by the law.

The outbreak was sharply repressed; but Philip had now made up his slow-moving mind to crush all opposition mercilessly. William, seeing no hope of successful resistance, retired to Nassau, beyond Philip's jurisdiction; Egmont remained, not to fight but to struggle desperately for conciliation; but Philip dispatched Alva to the Netherlands first as captain-general and then as governor in place of the more conciliatory Margaret. And Alva's conception of government was a military reign of terror (1567). Egmont and Hoorne who had done their best to act as moderators, were arrested as leaders of sedition. An arbitrary Spanish tribunal was set up, with Flemish assessors who had no voice in its decisions, which sent men to death actually by hundreds. The Protestant Flemings fled the country by thousands, to be received with open arms in England and elsewhere. Lewis of Nassau collected a very miscellaneous force, with which he defeated Alva's troops at Heiligerlee (1568), and Alva retaliated by executing Egmont and Hoorne, both of whom were Catholics, and defeating Lewis at Jemmingen.

Then Alva proceeded to flay the unhappy Netherlanders by imposing taxation which was not merely grinding but utterly destructive of the industry on which the hitherto prosperous country was entirely dependent. Flaying was the one political operation that Alva was qualified to carry out, and even he began to understand that merely to ruin the wealthiest portion of his master's dominions was not desirable, and to urge his own recall. But before a successor could take his place, desperation had reached the limit. Many fugitives had taken to the sea and to piracy; and in April, 1572, a band of the "Sea Beggars" as they were called seized the port of Brille.

CHARLES IX, KING OF FRANCE

Charles IX (1550-74) succeeded Francis II in 1560. His acquiescence in the massacre of S. Bartholomew in 1572 is the darkest blot upon his reign, throughout which he was a puppet in the hands of Catherine de' Medici.

The Louvre; photo, Archives photographiques

FANATICISM'S HIDEOUS CRIME: THE MASSACRE OF S. BARTHOLOMEW

This picture of the massacre of Huguenots that began on S. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, was painted by François Dubois who, born at Amiens in 1529, was an eye-witness of its horrors, but made his escape to Geneva, where he died in 1584. Although executed from memory the oil painting was probably based upon hurried sketches made at the time, and thus is historical evidence for such details as the duke of Guise's complacent contemplation of Coligny's corpse, just flung from a window.

Courtesy of the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lausanne

THE capture of Brille began the war which ended only with the independence of Holland; within a few weeks, ports and cities were everywhere, but especially in the north, declaring for William. Coligny was at the height of his influence with the French king, and was urging him to war with Philip; French help might almost be counted upon; Elizabeth in England was angling for a French alliance, and had only for form's sake ceased to harbor the Sea Beggars in her ports. Lewis seized Mons, and when Spanish troops laid siege to it, a French force advanced to its relief. William, whom several northern provinces had nominated as their "stadtholder" or civil head, advanced over the Rhine.

And then the whole situation was suddenly and violently changed by the massacre of S. Bartholomew, which wiped France off the board.

THE relations of England with Spain, France and the Netherlands are perhaps easier for us to unravel than they were for contemporaries, for the reason that it was Elizabeth's primary aim to keep everyone, including her own ministers, thoroughly befogged as to her own intentions and policy. In the country, hostility to Spain and a fervent desire to help Protestants who were fighting for their religion abroad had been growing for fourteen years; while the queen herself was determined on no account to be dragged into war or to give countenance to subjects in rebellion against their rulers.

She knew that however Philip might threaten, he would not go to war with her if he were not in effect forced to do so; both she and Philip carried provocative argument to the utmost limit, but officially the peace continued to be preserved, while year after year it was only by exhausting all the arts of prevarica-

tion that Elizabeth succeeded in keeping England and, above all, the English mariners from flying at the throats of the Spaniards. By keeping France in constant expectation of a matrimonial alliance which she never had any intention of consummating, she also kept Philip in constant fear of such a coalition. In short, what she wanted was to gain time and more time for the development of the national strength and resources, while reducing both Spain and France to inaction from their uncertainty as to what her next move would be.

It so happened, however, that the Paris massacre and the revolt of the Netherlands took place at the moment when the imprisonment of the queen of Scots in England and a singularly impolitic bull issued by Pius V combined to warrant or impose on the English government a much more rigorous Protestant and anti-Romanist attitude than heretofore. The bull instructed all good Catholics that it was their duty to aid in the removal of the heretic queen, but that they were justified in maintaining the appearance of unqualified loyalty to her. It followed that to be a Romanist was to be suspect of treason, and to preach Roman doctrines almost amounted to overt treason. That treason would inevitably center in the person of the captive queen, whose accession in England Philip would no longer regard with the old-time reluctance, since her French connection was with the Guises and therefore with the group definitely friendly to the Spanish king. There had already been one plot in which the complicity of the Spanish ambassador was past question. Elizabeth's ministers and her parliaments were emphatically Protestant, much more so than the queen herself, and popular opinion viewed Romanism with increasing dislike and suspicion.

MASSACRE OF VASSY THAT BEGAN THE WARS OF RELIGION

On March 1, 1562, the duke and the cardinal of Guise, passing through Vassy in Champagne, came upon a number of Huguenots assembled for service in a barn. In a preliminary altercation the duke was struck by a stone, whereupon his troops fell upon the unarmed congregation and killed twenty-three and wounded more than a hundred. In this contemporary picture of the incident the duke is shown upright with drawn sword, the cardinal leaning over a wall on the extreme left.

Tortorel and Perrisson Collection; from Larousse, "Histoire de France illustrée"

The Paris massacre for the time made any sort of coöperation between France and Protestants anywhere an impossibility; and although it was hailed with enthusiasm by Pope Gregory XIII, the inaugurator of the reformed or Gregorian Calendar, and by Philip himself, it did not pave the way for alliance, and in fact it disquieted many of the Catholics. The Huguenots were made only the more stubborn in their refusal to be crushed, and Catholics headed the new party of the "Politiques" who called for toleration. The suppressive edicts issued immediately after the massacre had to be recalled and a substantial degree of liberty restored by a new edict in 1573.

Next spring Charles IX died and was succeeded by his brother Henry III, one of the instigators of the massacre, a fanatic who easily fell under the influence of the fanatical group; but his younger brother Francis of Alençon, who became duke of Anjou after Henry became king,

THE COUNT OF EGMONT

Lamoral, count of Egmont (1522-68), ranks as one of the martyrs of Flemish freedom. As governor of Flanders he was at once conciliatory and firm, but patriotism, conflicting with loyalty to Philip II of Spain, brought him to the scaffold.

Engraving in Cabinet des Estampes, Brussels

MARGARET DUCHESS OF PARMA

Philip II's appointment of Margaret duchess of Parma as regent of the Netherlands in 1559 was a wise one, for she was familiar with the people and conditions; but her authority was over-ridden and she retired in 1567.

Painting by A. S. Coello, Royal Museum, Brussels

and is referred to sometimes by one title and sometimes by the other, associated himself, as did Henry of Navarre and the young Condé, with the Politiques. Though the fighting was renewed, the war was ended, after a fresh treaty and a fresh outbreak, by the treaty of Bergerac in 1577, which again placed several towns and fortresses in the hands of the Huguenots, and conceded liberty of private worship to the nobles. It seemed for a time that the religious pacification might be permanent.

William of Orange had regarded foreign aid as essential to a successful struggle, and the chance of foreign aid, at least in any very substantial form, had disappeared. But he was now a declared Protestant and determined to fight to the last gasp. Alva, not yet superseded, conducted the war till the close of 1573. On both sides it was carried on with ferocity. Zutphen fell, and the inhabitants were put to the sword. Haarlem, with a garrison of four thousand men, held out

heroically for seven months against a besieging force of thirty thousand; and though in the end it fell, too, its valiant resistance remained a permanent inspiration to the patriots; when Alkmaar was besieged, it held out till the approach of a relieving force.

The new governor Requesens discarded to the best of his power Alva's policy of terror, which had failed of its purpose and made the names of Alva and Spaniard a lasting horror to the Netherlands. But Philip would not let him follow his own disposition. Requesens himself thought that the religious opposition in the north would be removed by the offer of free pardon to all who returned to the Catholic fold; but the time when any large number of Protestants might have been thus brought over had passed. The patriots suffered a heavy loss in the death of Lewis of Nassau in 1574, but it was followed by a striking triumph. Leyden was undergoing a prolonged siege, and its surrender was impending, when it resorted to the last desperate expedient and opened the dykes, letting in the sea over the land from fifteen miles away. The besieging Spaniards fled before the flood, Leyden was saved, and the event was commemorated by the founding of the celebrated University of Leyden.

An attempt had already been made to conciliate the south, but the demands put forward by the patriots went beyond what Requesens was empowered to grant. Negotiations were opened with William and the north, but the terms gave no security that the promises would not be shelved as soon as the north disarmed, and still offered only the alternatives of recantation or exile to Protestants. The negotiations broke down, having only hardened the defiance of the northern Protestantism into intolerance of Romanism—against the will of William, though the provincial estates enlarged the personal powers with which he was entrusted. Moreover, whereas loyalty to the crown had hitherto been professed Holland and Zeeland now began to look for some foreign prince who would accept

SCOURGE OF THE NETHERLANDS

Haughtiest pride and relentless cruelty were the dominant qualities of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, duke of Alva (1508-83). They are manifest in this portrait of him painted by Sir Antonio Moro. In practice they found their most terrible expression in his presidency of the informal and infamous Council of Blood.

Royal Museum, Brussels; photo, Mansell

the sovereignty—an offer which was politely declined both by the English queen and the French duke of Anjou who was credited with Huguenots sympathies.

PORTRAITS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Of these two miniatures by Nicholas Hilliard the upper was painted in 1572, when the queen was thirty-nine. Elizabeth insisted on his painting the latter, lower, one in the "oppen light," deeming that shadows were unflattering.

National Portrait Gallery, London, and (above) courtesy of Christie, Manson and Woods, Ltd.

The campaigning was renewed with the breakdown of the negotiations in 1575. The patriots met with considerable successes. But Requesens died suddenly, and, pending the appointment of his successor, the conduct of affairs was in the hands of a council. The Spanish troops, already mutinous because their pay was heavily in arrears, broke out of hand, looted right and left, and sacked Antwerp for the three hideous days which became known as the "Spanish Fury." William seized his opportunity to win over the south where the religious question weighed rather in favor of the government, and all the provinces joined in the treaty called the Pacification of Ghent; whose demand was for religious toleration, the withdrawal of Spanish troops, and (in effect though not actually in form) the governorship of William under Philip's sovereignty (1576).

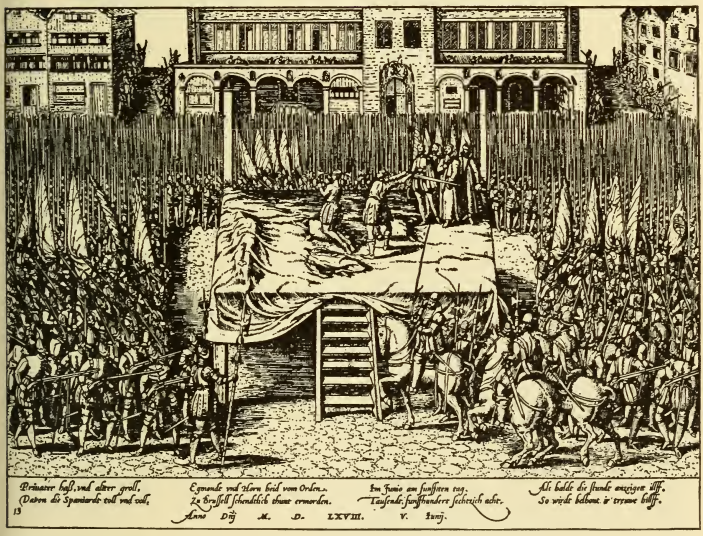
At this stage a new governor arrived, the king's younger illegitimate half-brother Don John "of Austria," a young man who had achieved a brilliant reputation by the great naval victory won by the Spaniards over the Turks at Lepanto five years before. He was popular and ambitious, and Philip was desperately jealous and suspicious of him, as indeed he was of every great officer he employed. Don John found so solid a front presented to him in the Netherlands that concession was the only course possible; and the concessions were promised in the Perpetual Edict of February, 1577. But promises without guarantees did not satisfy William and the northern provinces to whom religious liberty was vital.

It is probable that Don John himself had designs of setting himself on the throne of England by marrying either Elizabeth or her imprisoned rival. Though he fostered dissensions between the northern and southern leaders, he could gain the confidence of neither, and Philip's natural jealousy was being intensified by the intrigues of interested rivals in Spain. Philip openly showed his distrust of his brother, while the parties in the Netherlands united to call in a new champion by offering the governorship to the Austrian archduke Matthias, who, in fact, proved a very

poor reed to lean upon. Don John defeated him at Gemblours in 1578, but died before the year was out.

His successor was Alexander of Parma, the son of the former regent Margaret, a soldier of the highest ability and a skilled diplomatist, who had not yet excited his uncle Philip's jealousy and at once set himself, with great success, to conciliate the south and foster the growing rupture with the north, while it seemed likely that Francis of Anjou would take the place vacated by Matthias. France had found temporary pacification in the Bergerac compromise, and a dominating position in the Netherlands was extremely desirable for her though extremely embarrassing for Elizabeth. Parma's diplomacy, however, brought about the separation of the south from the north where a new Union of Utrecht drew the Protestant provinces into a combination more solid than that of Ghent (1579) while the Catholic south attached itself to Parma. Two more years passed, however, before the Union definitely repudiated the sovereignty of the king of Spain.

The thing was Philip's own doing. Under the mistaken impression that he could frighten William personally into submission, he set a price on his head. William responded by publishing a bitter indictment of Philip and entering on closer relations with Anjou, not because he trusted that degenerate prince or his brother's and mother's government in France, but rather in the hope of forcing the hand of the queen of England, whose



MARTYRDOM OF COUNTS EGMONT AND HOORNE FOR DUTCH FREEDOM

William of Orange and the counts of Egmont and Hoorne led the patriotic party that resisted Philip II's intention to convert the Netherlands into a Spanish dependency and to introduce the Inquisition there. Soon after Alva's arrival in 1567 to enforce both the despotism and the persecution Egmont and Hoorne were seized and after a farcical trial condemned to death for high treason by the Council of Blood. Next day, June 5, 1568, they were beheaded in front of Brussels Town Hall.

Engraving by Hogenberg, in the collection of Th. Hippert; from Hymans, "Bruxelles à travers les ages"

subjects would have hailed her active intervention with joy. While Parma moved forward, not with violence but with a quiet, grinding persistence, a bargain was struck with Anjou which would have made him little more than a figure-head. Unfortunately, when he arrived he was not content to occupy that position, plunged in intrigues, attempted in 1583 a coup d'état by means of his French troops, failed ignominiously, and vanished to die ignominiously in the following year.

In 1584 also William "the Silent" was

HENRY III OF FRANCE

The dissimulation and cruelty that characterized Henry III (1551-89) show in this contemporary portrait. His treacherous murder of his formidable rival, Henry of Guise, led to his own assassination in the following year.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

ALEXANDER, DUKE OF PARMA

Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (1545-92) succeeded Don John of Austria as governor-general of the Netherlands in 1578. Although success attended his arms and his diplomacy he received small encouragement from Philip.

Engraving by J. Wierix, 1591

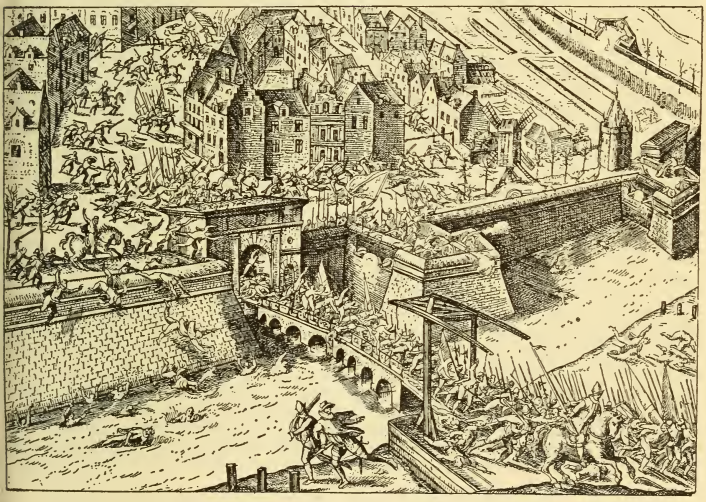
assassinated—a method of dealing with political obstacles which Philip habitually practiced more or less indirectly—but his work was done. Nothing now would shake the stubborn resolve of the northern Union never to yield to Spanish domination, cost what it might. The Dutch fought on, and before long found in William's young son Maurice a leader who added military genius to his father's indomitability.

The disgrace of Anjou ended the French connection. His death produced a new political situation; for it left Henry of Navarre, a Huguenot, heir presumptive to the French throne, which, according to the Catholic doctrine, no heretic could legitimately occupy. Next to him was his uncle Charles, a cardinal. The house of Guise descended, though not in unbroken male line, from the first Valois kings and hoped, with Philip's alliance, to secure the ultimate succession for itself. In 1585 the Guises formed the Catholic League to exclude Henry of Navarre and all heretics from the succession.

Much as Henry III detested Henry of Navarre, he detested Henry of Guise hardly less. But he submitted to the dictation of the League (which had incidentally offered Navarre and Béarn, not even under French sovereignty, to Philip as a bribe). The three Henrys took the field with three independently acting armies; a miscellaneous foreign force under the German Count Dohna entered France to support the Huguenots. The king himself went to meet the Germans, whom he persuaded to retire, while his main army was being defeated by Navarre at Coutras; Guise arrived in time to attack the withdrawing Germans and return to Paris as a victor where the king had been afraid to fight, and Henry had to flee in haste from his own capital. Finding himself a mere puppet in Guise's hands, he tried to relieve himself from his immediate difficulties by having the duke assassinated (December, 1588). A fortnight later Catherine de' Medici died.

Mayenne, the murdered duke's brother, now headed the League, in open war against Henry III, who, deserted by the Catholics, came to terms with Navarre. Together they were marching on Paris, when a fanatical monk avenged Henry of Guise by stabbing Henry III. Save for the disqualification of heresy and the fact that more than half his subjects refused to recognize him, Navarre was indisputably Henry IV, king of France, engaged in a desperate struggle for his crown with a League which chose to recognize his elderly uncle Charles, the cardinal of Bourbon, as the legitimate king, though he was at this time actually in his nephew's hands (August, 1589).

Had William the Silent fallen at an earlier stage of the contest, the blow might well have been fatal to the cause of which he had made himself the champion. Even as matters stood, it was some



EYE WITNESS'S IMPRESSION OF "THE SPANISH FURY"

In June 1576 mutiny broke out among the Spanish and Walloon troops in the Netherlands to whom long arrears of pay were due. The mutineers established themselves at Alost in Brabant, but in November they marched on Antwerp and for three days—November 3 to 5—sacked the town, massacring 6,000 citizens, burning down 800 houses and doing damage estimated at over $10,000,000. This hideous atrocity, known as the Spanish Fury, is thus illustrated in a contemporary engraving.

Engraving by Franz Hogenberg; from Michael Aitsinger, "De Leone Belgico"

time before the United Provinces found efficient leadership. They actually tried the offer of their sovereignty to Henry III before the war of the three Henrys had fully developed; and when Henry after hesitation declined, they turned to England.

Elizabeth had always steered her perilous course with a determination never to commit herself so deeply to any one or any thing that she could not find an excuse for evasion, and to postpone to the last possible moment the conflict with Philip which was bound to come sooner or later. She did not mean that Philip should conquer the Netherlands; she did not mean that France should be their liberator and reap the fruits of their liberation; and she did not mean to spend a penny more than was absolutely necessary or before it was so. Philip, on the other hand, was no less convinced that time was on his side. When he had crushed the Netherlands, it would be Elizabeth's turn, and when the time came he had no doubt of the result; but meanwhile each desired to inflict as much damage as possible on the other, and both allowed their subjects the utmost latitude in unofficial breaches of the peace, of which the English mariners in particular took full and profitable advantage.

A WELL-MEANING OFFICIAL

Don Luis Requesens was appointed governor of the Netherlands in 1573. He did his best to counteract the harm done by Alva, but the task was impossible and he died, worn out, March 25, 1576. The engraving is contemporary.
From Hymans, "Bruxelles à travers les ages"

Elizabeth then declined for herself the sovereignty offered by the United Provinces, but she promised help, on terms. Drake sailed to Vigo a few hours before the fully expected arrival of counter-orders from the queen, and thence to Cartagena in the West Indies, from which he returned with vast booty; and Leicester was sent to the Low Countries with an army which was kept as inactive as possible. Parma mastered the central provinces and captured Antwerp after a memorable siege, but got little profit thereby because the Union kept its hold of Flushing, which, commanding the entry of the Scheldt, paralyzed Antwerp, whose commerce passed very largely to Amsterdam. Elizabeth undoubtedly entered on secret negotiations with Parma which she never intended to have any material result; her conduct and Leicester's excited intense distrust and suspicion; and the expedition was in part withdrawn in 1587.

But Philip had already resolved on the step which was to prove his ruin. Instead of waiting till he had crushed the Netherlands he would put an end to Elizabeth at once, and for that purpose a great fleet of convoys was in active preparation at Cadiz at the close of 1586. The last plot on behalf of the captive Queen Mary, and Spanish complicity therein, had just been exposed, and England was clamoring for her execution. With the assent of Elizabeth—which she tried to repudiate when it was too late—Mary was beheaded in February, 1587, and in April Drake sailed into Cadiz and destroyed all the shipping in the harbor.

The great Armada was postponed for a year by this "singeing of the king of Spain's beard." It sailed in 1588, and was annihilated by superior seamanship and superior gunnery, and finally by the winds, the waves and the rocks. Spain might and did build fleets to retrieve the disaster, but her effective power on the

seas was gone for ever, and the English and Dutch entered upon the inheritance. The immediate effect of the defeat of the Spanish Armada was the closure of the sea-route between Spain and the Netherlands, and the serious hampering of Parma's activities, at a time when Philip had become almost as mistrustful of him as he had previously been of Don John.

Parma's loyalty was in fact above reproach, and he was the best of living generals and a hardly less expert diplomatist; but though he remained in supreme command till his death in 1592, he was almost paralyzed by Philip's interference with his plans and by the suspicions which always kept him short of supplies. And when Parma was gone, the Union armies were under the command of a military genius, young Maurice of Nassau, William's second son, who had already proved he was a match for Parma.

DESTRUCTION OF THE TURKISH FLEET AT THE BATTLE OF LEPANTO

Alarmed by the Turks' conquest of Cyprus in 1571 Spain and Venice entered into alliance to combat the Ottoman menace to the Mediterranean and gave the command of the combined fleet to Don John of Austria. With 208 galleys, six galleasses and many smaller vessels he encountered the much larger Turkish fleet at Lepanto on October 1, 1571, and completely annihilated it, the Turkish losses being 190 galleys captured, 30,000 men killed and 10,000 prisoners. The allies lost 7,500 killed.

Painting (part) by Vicentino, Ducal Palace, Venice; photo, Anderson

DEATH MASK OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Queen Elizabeth died March 24, 1603, and in accordance with precedent a death mask was made from her face in wax. From this the lead reproduction shown above was made by the cire perdue process and used, it is believed, as the model for the recumbent marble effigy on her tomb in Westminster Abbey.
Courtesy of Messrs. Spink & Son, Ltd.

The withdrawal of Leicester had not involved the complete retirement of the English, and the Dutch had helped in the destruction of the Armada by their blockade of the ports that were in Parma's hands; but there was more of jealousy than of active coöperation between the two, and much disunion between the Provinces themselves. Parma advanced continuously, while his politic lenience had the best effect. But the war between Henry IV and the League distracted Philip towards France.

In March, 1590, Henry, at the risk of total annihilation, fought and won the battle of Ivry. The victorious Huguenots marched on Paris, when Parma received peremptory orders to effect a diversion from the Netherlands. Paris was on the point of being actually starved out when Parma's approach compelled Henry to raise the siege. Parma having accomplished his purpose withdrew; but his absence from the Netherlands gave Maurice the chance of proving his own skill and the merits of the forces he had been reorganizing. He recaptured one after another of the towns held by the Spaniards, and when Parma returned and again took the field against him in person, the young general outmaneuvered his elder, who had to retire (1591).

Meanwhile, Henry, though he had been balked at Paris, was making steady progress. Again by the king's order Parma had to leave the Netherlands to save Rouen from Henry. Again he succeeded in the immediate object, and withdrew; but this time he was already a dying man unfit to cope with his young rival, who had almost completed the ejection of the Spaniards from the last towns they still held in the north. Before the year was out, Parma was dead.

So long as Henry was a professed heretic, the Catholics in France would not acknowledge him; but his uncle the cardinal was dead. There was no one else left in the male line of succession. The Huguenots could hardly hope to conquer the Catholics, and the Catholics could not expect to conquer the Huguenots without aid from Spain. If at this juncture Philip had intervened in support of the Guise succession Henry's chances would probably have been small. But Philip proposed his own daughter (whom he married to his nephew the Austrian archduke Ernest), her mother having been a sister of Henry III. A Spanish queen and a German king, who would be the

creatures of the king of Spain, were more than any but the most fanatical Catholics could accept.

Henry himself was a political Huguenot with no particular religious convictions, but a very clear secular conviction that in toleration of both the creeds lay the only hope of restoring France. Also the crown of France was "worth a mass." If he could not give toleration as a Huguenot, he would give it as a Catholic, and as the champion of France against foreign intervention. In 1593 he announced his conversion to the Catholic faith.

Though the extreme section of the League, led by Mayenne, still held out, while the archduke Ernest betook himself as governor to the Netherlands, where his arrival proved of no advantage to Philip, the moderate Catholics came over, some at once, others more slowly, the young duke of Guise being among them. The Leaguers obviously depended on continued unofficial support from Philip. In 1595 Henry, who had now been crowned,

WILLIAM THE SILENT

From 1572 until his assassination, William, Prince of Orange (1533-84), was leader of the revolt in the Netherlands against the tyranny of Alva. This portrait of him in late life was painted by J. Van Mierevelt.

Rijks Museum, Amsterdam; photo, Mansell

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA

Don John of Austria (1545-78) was appointed governor-general of the Netherlands in 1576. Though politically out-maneuvered by William of Orange, he defeated the patriot army, but the jealousy of Philip II robbed his work of fruition.

Prado Museum, Madrid

declared war on Spain. The League, in alliance with Philip, was exposed as an anti-national conspiracy. There was still hard fighting to be done, however, and in this Henry was less successful than in the diplomacy which gained over Pope Clement VIII and one after another of the remaining League leaders—to their very great profit, and the lively annoyance of the Huguenots.

In 1597 the League had practically ceased to exist, and all but the last strongholds were captured. Philip agreed to a truce. Early in 1598 the last resistance was extinguished. In April Henry issued the Edict of Nantes which was the charter of the Huguenots, and in May the war between France and Spain was ended by the treaty of Vervins; in which, however, neither England nor the United Provinces which were still fighting for independence was included. Henry was free to set about the reorganization of France, with the Edict of Nantes as his starting-point.

PHILIP'S preoccupation with France had enabled Maurice, with the less difficulty, to establish practically the independence of the United Provinces which Philip still declined to acknowledge; but the continuation of the war in that quarter belongs to our next chapter. The Dutch and the English were both in nominal alliance with Henry, but the former were almost entirely engaged in the Netherlands, and the English in the Maritime war which Elizabeth's government directed, not to the destruction of the Spanish power (which Elizabeth meant to cripple but still to preserve as a counterpoise to that of France), but mainly to the raiding of Spanish sea-borne commerce; greatly to the profit of English mariners who preyed upon Spanish treasure galleons and fleets, and had no desire for the ending of a war conducted so much to their satisfaction.

The Dutch were soon to share with England the ocean supremacy held by Portugal and Spain for a century and definitely lost by them when Philip's Armada suffered its annihilating defeat. Portugal, too small a country to maintain her magnificent effort, had disappeared as a separate power when the death of her childless king Sebastian on a chimerical crusade in Morocco, and of his aged uncle two years later, enabled Philip to claim the succession for himself (through his mother) and secure the crown in spite of the better title of his cousins and subjects of the house of Braganza.

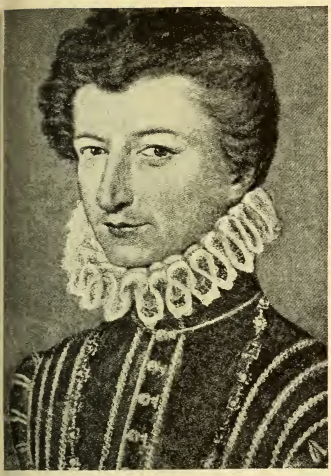
Four months after the peace of Vervins Philip II died, still unconscious that instead of making Spain the dictator of Europe he had made her domination for ever impossible, and instead of extirpating heresy had created in the Netherlands the most obstinately Protestant state in Europe, intensified the Protestantism of England, and established on the French throne the champion of toleration and the uncompromising foe of the Hapsburgs.

The Empire took no part for or against Philip or the forces of Protestantism, though Ferdinand, and after him his son Maximilian II, offered occasional remonstrances. Both Ferdinand and Maximilian (1564-76) were committed to the principle of toleration as adopted at the pacification of Passau (the right of each prince to control religion in his own territories), and Maximilian personally was suspected of Lutheran leanings. He succeeded his father in Austria, Hungary and Bohemia, and also as emperor, while Styria went to his brother Charles. No further division was made on his death, when his eldest son Rudolf II succeeded him.

HERO OF THE SPANISH MAIN

Sir Francis Drake (1545-95) was trained for his wonderful career by his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins. He fought the Spaniards in the West Indies, and was the first Englishman to sail round the world. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth on board the Golden Hind at Deptford.

Engraving by Hondius



HENRY DUKE OF GUISE

The militant champion of Catholicism in France, Henry, third duke of Guise (1550-88), captured the people by his charm of manner and his spectacular valor. This portrait by François Clouet shows him in the prime of manhood.

Palais Bourbon; from Jäger "Weltgeschichte"

The Hapsburgs in this third generation became more definitely anti-Protestant; Rudolf made unsuccessful attempts to turn the tide, and his young cousin Ferdinand of Styria, under Jesuit influences, was zealous in the suppression of heresy in his own dominions. Lutheranism, however, and still more the Calvinism which had found no recognition in the pacification, spread in the north, where, in many sees in which vacancies occurred, and Protestantism was dominant, lay administrators were appointed who claimed the right to discharge the political functions of the bishop in a Protestant sense; while between Lutherans and Calvinists there was no love lost, the former being at best half-hearted in backing up Calvinist claims; and the Catholics denounced the legality of the claims of both.

In Hungary, of which a great part had become a Turkish province, while the Hapsburgs were compelled to pay tribute for the portion in which they exercised sovereignty, Transylvania asserted its independence in 1571 under Stephen Bathori, who, five years later, was elected king of Poland, the old line of Jagellon being exhausted. On Stephen's death in 1586 that crown was given to Sigismund, the crown prince of Sweden, grandson of Gustavus Vasa, who had died in 1560. The king now reigning in Sweden was his second son John III, who had become an ardent Catholic, and was endeavoring unsuccessfully to restore that religion. Sigismund, an equally ardent Catholic, himself became king in 1592, but after a visit to Sweden returned to Poland, leaving the charge of the kingdom to his Protestant uncle Charles.

For Poland was now in collision with the rising power of Russia. Ivan IV the Terrible, grandson of Ivan III the creator of the Muscovite monarchy, succeeded his father Vasili at a very early age in 1533.

A GREAT QUEEN'S FAVORITE

Although an inefficient statesman and indifferent soldier, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester (1532-88), was long the most powerful man in England as the favorite of Elizabeth. This portrait, by an unknown artist, shows him in his prime.

National Portrait Gallery, London

PHILIP II AS SEPTUAGENARIAN

This portrait depicts Philip II of Spain at the age of 71. It was painted by Sir Antonio Moro shortly before the king's death, September 13, 1598, and is preserved in the library of the Escurial, where his death occurred.

Photo, Mansell

He first assumed the title of tsar. He established a merciless despotism by methods which won him his name; he extended the power of Moscow as far as the Caspian. But Russia was so completely cut off from the western world that English sailors who found their adventurous way there in Queen Mary's reign by the White Sea and were well received by the tsar spoke of the "discovery of Muscovy"; it became the established craving of the tsars from Ivan's time to force their way to the Baltic and to intercourse with the west by sea; and Poland blocked the way. Ivan died in 1584, but the long era of Russian rivalry with Poland that was to follow had commenced.

The Ottoman power, growing ever stronger and more menacing to Europe in spite of the tremendous naval defeat at Lepanto in 1571, was nevertheless not expanding in Asia. As early as the days of Bajazet II the unenterprising, the Shiah Ismail el-Safi, founder of the Safid or "Sofy" dynasty, had established an unorthodox principality in Persia where the Shiah doctrine always prevailed. He had pushed into Irak, but had been heavily defeated and driven back by Selim II in 1515, as a preliminary to the conquest of Syria and Egypt. Suleiman's European ambitions gave him no time for the conquest of Persia and the Safid power was left to grow gradually, till under Shah Abbas (1586-1629) the "Persian Sofy" and his fabulous wealth began to dazzle western imaginations in rivalry with the Great Mogul himself.

For those were the days of the greatest of all the Moguls. Akbar's father Humayun had returned from his wanderings and recaptured Delhi as the heir of

FIRST TSAR OF RUSSIA

Ivan IV (1530-84), known for his tyranny and cruelty as "The Terrible," had himself crowned as tsar of All Russia in 1547—being the first to assume that title. This is an authentic portrait.

Contemporary woodcut at Vienna

Babar only to meet his death from an accidental fall while his thirteen-year-old son was away in the Punjab with Bairam dealing with one of the three other claimants to the Empire of Hindustan. Bairam proclaimed Akbar; another claimant marched on Delhi from Gwalior, and took it, and had to be crushed in another battle at Panipat (1556). Bairam established Akbar's authority from Peshawar to Allahabad before his own death in 1561, and in 1562 the real personal reign of Akbar began.

He was a deliberately aggressive and successful conqueror who attacked and annexed every independent principality he could reach. Gondwana, Malwa and Rajputana were brought under his direct rule or his sovereignty by 1569; in 1573 he gained access to the sea by the conquest of Gujarat. Bengal was annexed in 1576. After his capture of Kabul in 1581, his supremacy and his personal ascendancy north of the Nerbada were never challenged without immediate disaster to the challenger; but he did not succeed in extending effective conquest into the Deccan, and his last years were troubled by the ill-doings of his sons.

Akbar's conquests would have made him a man of mark if he had had no other title to fame. His organization and administration of the vast empire he subjugated would have secured his place among the greatest of Oriental rulers, though his father's rival Sher Shah was the real originator of some of his most effective measures, while others owed as much or more to the ministers of his choice than to himself. His liberality in matters of religion was in strong contrast with the uncompromising intolerance prevalent in Europe, and was perhaps born of his own extreme unorthodoxy which, by Mahomedans, is scarcely accounted to him for righteousness. He was eager in his encouragement of learning, admitted foreigners freely, and suffered them in his presence to hold high debate with each other and with the pundits of his own people. But of all his many claims to greatness the highest is the fact that he was the first to break with the old tradition of Moslem domination, to treat the Hindu and Moslem populations as though all the peoples of his empire were one—to dream, it might almost be said, of creating an Indian nationality; Rajput princes and Brahman advisers being among the most trusted of his generals and counsellors.

In China the Ming dynasty was near-

GREATEST MOGUL EMPEROR

Akbar the Great (1542-1605) was the real builder of the splendid and prosperous Mogul Empire. This pencil sketch was drawn—almost certainly from life—by one of the painters attached to the court of the Grand Moguls.

From Laurence Binyon, "Court Painters of the Grand Moguls"

SOLDIER AND STATESMAN

Notwithstanding his peasant origin Hideyoshi (1538-98) rose by his great military capacity to supreme power in Japan. To his wise statesmanship and good government as regent from 1584 to 1598, after the death of his colleague Nobunaga, the country's restoration to prosperity was due.

ing its end, but the onslaught under which it perished did not come till the next century. At the moment, however, where this chapter closes, the power which seemed to threaten it was not that of the Manchus who afterwards overthrew it, but that of Japan. For the long feudal anarchy under the Ashikaga shoguns was brought to an end, a masterful central government was set up, and it appeared that, under a man of genius, the island power was embarking on a career of expansion.

When Bairam was establishing Akbar on the throne of Delhi, Nobunaga, the baron of Owari, was at war with his neighbor Tokugawa Iyeyasu; and the skill of his defense so impressed the latter that the two became allies instead of rivals, gradually dominated their neighbors, and in 1573 overturned the feeble Shogunate. That office had for centuries been the recognized monopoly of the Minamoto clan. It fell into abeyance for a few years. Nobunaga, ruling under another title, continued to reduce obstinate nobles to submission, largely through the services of his ever-loyal henchman Hideyoshi, who had risen to be a particularly distinguished general. Nobunaga in 1582 died by his own hand when a treacherous attack was made upon him; but Hideyoshi was prompt to smite the traitor, became the practical head of his dead master's faction, and ruled Japan gloriously from 1584 till his death in 1598—an amazing feat in itself for a man of very humble birth in a land of feudal aristocrats.

Theoretically there was no revolution, Hideyoshi was the minister of the mikado, as the shoguns had been before him and were to be after him. But he compelled the nobles to submit to the central authority, though it was not till 1590 that his sway was undisputed throughout Hondo (Honshu) and Kioshiu, with Iyeyasu as practically his viceroy in the north.

Unfortunately for Christianity, which the Jesuits had been spreading, he grasped the idea that the missionaries were only the heralds of attempted political domination, expelled them from the country, and closed its gates to them. The last years of his life were spent in conquering Korea from the Chinese, with the Chinese empire itself as his next objective; and with every prospect of success, till in 1598 death cut him off at the age of sixty-two. The Japanese government abandoned the attempt which without Hideyoshi's genius to direct it was impossible, and withdrew from Korea. But he left behind him a restored Japan.

SOCIAL LIFE IN TUDOR ENGLAND

VITAL CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE AND OUTLOOK OF SOCIETY BETWEEN THE REIGNS OF HENRY VII AND ELIZABETH

By A. D. INNES

Assistant Editor of the Universal History of the World; Author of England under the Tudors, etc.

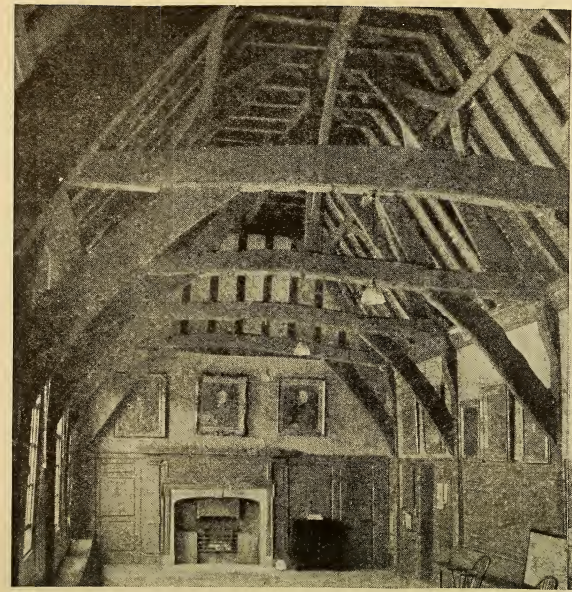
When Henry Tudor was hailed King of England on Bosworth Field where the last Plantagenet lay slain, the Wars of the Roses ended and the doom of the old baronial system was sealed. For thirty years past, Yorkist and Lancastrian lords had been fighting for the crown up and down the country. Edward IV had established himself as undisputed king for the last ten years of his life; but he had not established his dynasty. Henry VII, to establish his own dynasty, had to complete by other methods the work which the wars had almost accomplished, of so reducing the power of the great barons that baronial insurrections should for the future be doomed to failure.

He effected his purpose in the main by depriving them of the armed retainers whom they had been wont to bring into the field, impoverishing them by fines which filled the royal treasury, and reserving the manufacture and use of cannon as a royal monopoly. Forfeited estates were distributed among new families. If Percys and Nevilles, Stanleys and Veres survived, none of the leading men of the sixteenth century were of the great old families; the Howards and Greys were only just ennobled; the Seymours, Boleyns, Dudleys, Cecils were ennobled by the Tudors. Queen Anne Boleyn's grandfather was a London merchant. The most powerful ministers employed by Tudor monarchs were the sons of an Ipswich grazier and of a Putney blacksmith. The first Tudor king himself was the grandson of a Welsh knight. The old hereditary values, so to speak, had gone to pieces.

If the wars broke up the old military aristocracy to such an extent that, by a strict application of business methods, Henry VII was able to eliminate it, the actual warfare had interfered much less with the general national progress than might have been expected. The population at large had gone about its business without taking any very lively interest in the fight for the crown, or suffering greatly at the hands of the combatants except on the main marching routes. Commerce had advanced; and the shrewd Henry VII made it his business to foster commerce. In the reign of his son, the prosperity of the commercial community enabled many of its members to buy their way into the ranks of the landed gentry, when the dissolution of the monasteries threw the extensive monastic estates into the market, a development which had its reaction upon politics, though that is not the point which directly concerns us here.

The prosperity of the fifteenth century is demonstrated by the multiplying of educational, charitable and ecclesiastical endowments; in the next century the prosperous men of business found another and a more selfish outlet for expenditure in the purchase of estates. The purchase of land was a profitable investment, socially because the ownership of land gave a social status, economically because the new men put every available acre under sheep, which cost little to keep, while there was an immense market for the resultant wool.

In fact, a double economic revolution was in progress, a sort of foreshadowing of the much bigger revolution of the late eighteenth century. On the one hand manufacture was on the increase, on the other tillage was being turned into pasture. The population was growing, but fewer hands were needed on the



BEAUTIFUL SURVIVALS RECALLING THE WEALTH OF ENGLISH WOOL AND CLOTH MERCHANTS IN TUDOR DAYS

England's wool trade made great strides under the Tudors, but it began to pass out of the hands of the Staplers, who exported raw wool, into those of the Merchant Adventurers, who exported finished cloth. The guilds of Cirencester, one of the most important wool markets in England, used to meet in the upper rooms of the south porch of the parish church (right), built in 1500—a date when actually the prosperity of these old centers was passing to the 'new towns.'

Photo, W. F. Taylor

HENRY VIII'S MASTERFUL MINISTER

A painting after Holbein shows us Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485-1540), son of a Putney blacksmith, and therein typical of the ministers employed by the Tudors, who rose to be earl of Essex and chancellor under Henry VIII.

National Portrait Gallery, London

land and manufacture was slow in absorbing the surplus. The problem of the unemployed had come into being; because there was not enough work to go round, labor was cheap—in other words, wages were low in proportion to the cost of living; trade was passing from the old towns where it was strictly regulated to the new towns where competition was free, and migration from the old to the new was no easy matter, so that in the one there was lack of employment and in the other the employer could make his own terms to his best advantage. For the laborer those were not halcyon days, though landlords and burgesses might flourish.

What actually, at the beginning of the Tudor period, was the position in the rural districts? The old villeinage or serfdom had disappeared during the last hundred years. In the second half of the fourteenth century so much of the rural population had been cut off by the Black Death that much tillage went out of cultivation. The waste land was put under sheep by the landowners. As the population grew again, serfs and landlords both realized—as they had been doing before the Black Death—that to receive rent for land and pay wages for labor was better than the old system of laboring for nothing on the lord's land and paying nothing for the land which was held from him in villeinage. The peasant paid for the land he held, and the lord hired the labor he wanted on his own demesne. The peasant became a free tenant who could not be ejected so long as he paid a rent fixed in perpetuity; if he held no land he became a laborer exchanging his labor for wages when he could find an employer.

But meanwhile the landlords discovered that the waste land they had been putting under sheep was paying them better than the tilled land for which

SHEEP FARMING UNDER THE TUDORS

An immense increase in pasture at the expense of tillage was the chief social change in England between the Black Death and the age of the Tudors. The illustration for the month of February in the first edition of Spenser's Shepheardes Calendar suggests the importance attained by sheep farming in 1579.

British Museum

they got only a very small rent, or the demesne land for the tilling of which they had to pay many more hands than on pasture land. The population grew till the supply of agricultural labor became greater than the demand for it. The landlords were not inclined to reconvert their pasture into tillage; on the contrary, they set about getting into their own hands what was under the plough, in order to convert it into still more pasture land, giving less and less employment to distribute among an increasing number of laborers.

Matters were so bad that an inquiry was ordered by Wolsey, and laws were issued to check the land-grabbing which was going on under the color of law; but a little ingenuity could generally find means of evading the new legislation.

Matters, however, grew worse with the dissolution of the monasteries. Their land was largely bought up by the new rich, who had made their money out of commerce and meant to make more out of their land.

Even when they broke the law by their methods, there was little enough chance of legal redress, since the only courts to which their victims could appeal consisted of other landlords whose sympathies were all on their own side. The peasantry rose in the eastern counties under Ket; another agrarian revolt in the west country took the color of a religious rising, because it demanded the restoration of the good old monastic landlords. Both risings were stamped out with severity, but not before they had reached alarming proportions.

RENT DISPLACES LABOR SERVICES

Following the Black Death the replacement of villeinage by tenancy, to which it had given a setback, recommenced. This tenant paying rent is the frontispiece to Sir Anthony Fitzherbert's Boke of Surveying (Thomas Pynson, 1523).

Those risings were the culmination of the agrarian unrest which had been growing in acuteness for half a century. During the whole of that time the government had been making spasmodic attempts to deal with the new problem of unemployment, partly by prohibition of enclosures, which always proved a dead letter, partly by trying to drive the unemployed into work when the work was not there. In the new conditions of unemployment it was difficult to distinguish between those who were unemployed by their own choice and those who were willing for work but could find none that would keep body and soul together. The problem is familiar enough in the twentieth century; in the sixteenth it was a new one.

But the sixteenth century was manufacturing unemployment by throwing the agricultural laborer out of work. The rural districts were infested with vagabonds professedly in search of work. The authorities were inclined to disbelieve that profession, and to treat it merely as a cloak for robbery and violence, as it undoubtedly was in many instances.

In the reign of Henry VII the disbanded retainers of the great swelled the ranks of the sturdy beggars; in the reign of his son the destitute lost the relief which they had formerly received from the monasteries, and turned to robbery for a livelihood. Again the climax was reached in the reign of Edward VI when the craft guilds were swept away and the guildsmen to whom they had given relief were left destitute. The govern-

ment met the crisis by constituting vagabondage itself a crime and making the vagabond actually the slave of anyone who offered him employment—a drastic but vain remedy which had to be repealed after two years.

Enclosure meant that a considerable number of small-holders were dispossessed by the legal trickery which was aided by the disposition of the courts to side with the landlords who enclosed the land thus acquired; to which they added a considerable proportion of the common lands in which all the villagers had common rights. The dispossessed tenants were added to the numbers of the laborers who were dependent on wages, while the amount of labor required was continuously reduced, as what had been tillage was converted into pasture.

LABORER OF THE 16th CENTURY

Alexander Barclay was a literary divine made famous by his work, The Shyp of Folys (i.e. Ship of Fools). He published his Eclogues in 1509, and a cut in the 'Fifte Eglog' shows a typical English agricultural laborer.

But the main cause of the unemployment was that the landlords preferred to utilize their land for the growing of wool, which was profitable, in place of tillage, which was very much less so. The dislocation of labor caused want and misery: only by the end of the sixteenth century it had adjusted itself, since the labor that had been displaced gradually found new occupation, and the state evolved a method of poor relief more or less adequate to temporary and local dislocation.

The rural population formed the vast majority of the country; probably there were not a dozen towns whose population exceeded 10,000. If the laborers in the rural districts were in an ill plight, the bulk of the small-holders—big farms had not come into being—the descendants of the yeomen or the villeins of earlier days, were reasonably prosperous. Except where the law was evaded they had security of tenure, owed no man service, and made enough off the soil to live in comfort according to the standards of the time. Trade, especially foreign trade, flourished, wool merchants and cloth merchants leading, while an increasing amount of the carrying trade was being captured by the English. Navigation laws required goods for the English market to be imported in English ships, but they were practically a dead letter because there were not yet enough English ships to carry the goods that were wanted. But even in the reign of Henry VII the monopoly of the Italians in the Mediterranean was being broken down, and by the middle of the century the privileges of the Hansa, which had been needed to make England a market for foreign goods, became a hindrance instead of an aid to English commerce. In the reign of Elizabeth they disappeared and the Hansards were being driven or had been driven out of the field by English competition. There was a highly remunerative market abroad for all the wool England could send, and English cloth competed with that of the Flemings.

Again, however, it was not the employed but the employers who reaped the profits, not the small craftsmen but the merchants and the big craftsmen. The time had come when a man setting up in business on his own account required capital. In the chartered boroughs, which had hitherto practically monopolized trade, no one could trade until admitted a member of the guild of his craft, and the craft guilds had the normal human tendency towards restriction of their membership; which was in their power because the regulation of the trade within the borough was in the hands of its craft guilds.

But where there was no borough and no charter there were no restrictions. Hitherto it had not been worth while to attempt starting in trade outside the boroughs; but now, with the develop-

ment of industries, it became practicable; very soon it proved profitable, and a great deal of trade was passing to the new towns, where trading was free, from the old towns, where it was regulated by self-limited associations.

The possession of money suggested openings for expenditure, and in the reign of Henry VIII the king and the court set an example of extravagance and ostentation which the new generation was eager to emulate. It was not in order to accumulate but in order to spend that the old landed gentry made a business of land-owning. But the new landowners who were brought in by the dissolution of the monasteries were men who had made their money by commerce, were imbued with the commercial spirit, and meant their profits not to be merely wasted on unprofitable extravagance but to breed more profits. The great development of chartered trading companies in the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors was begotten of the commercial enterprise not only of the merchants but of the wealthy gentry, and of the nobles whose fathers or grandfathers had been no more than gentry, or perhaps a generation or two farther back no more than wealthy burgesses. The new nobility and gentry did not disdain, as the old nobility and gentry had disdained, to soil their fingers by making money. It was by making money that their own families had risen. And by making money the man whose family had not yet risen could hope to become the founder of a family himself. Thus the development of the commercial spirit was giving a new structure to society which was no longer framed upon a military aristocracy.

TRAMPS OF THE TUDOR AGE

Barclay's lines on 'folysshe beggers and theyr vanitees' in The Shyp of Folys, to which this is an illustration, show that he had little faith in the genuineness of the beggars produced by the unemployment of the Tudor age.

This phase of the revolution was in no small degree due to the political action of the first Tudor. The suppression of the military aristocracy was necessary to the development of the central authority; incidentally it did away with the old social framework. But Henry VII himself was almost an incarnation of the commercial spirit, recognizing the development of power in the development of wealth, and the development of national wealth in the expansion of commerce; his business instinct made that not a minor but the major object of his foreign policy, and the effect was to provide the materials for the new social framework which was to take the place of the old.

The second phase of the social revolution was that wrought by the Reformation.

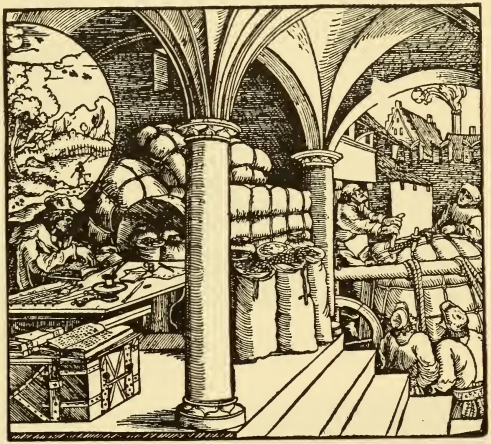
Until their abolition in 1536-9, the monasteries were an essential part of the social system. Such education as there was, outside the wealthy families and the universities, was mainly in their hands, and they were the principal source of poor relief. There can be no doubt that they were still popular landlords in the north and west, or that in the eastern counties at least they had long ceased

to be so. It is impossible to doubt that a large proportion of the smaller houses had fallen from grace, and that in many of the larger morality and discipline were exceedingly lax. We may be equally confident that the majority were not the seething hotbeds of vice depicted by the commissioners, who accepted without sifting any evidence produced against them and listened to none in their defense.

Actually the reasons for their suppression were that the king—and others—wanted their wealth, and that when the king had quarrelled irretrievably with the pope they remained the otherwise insuperable obstacle to the complete establishment of the royal supremacy.

The average parsons had no particular difficulty in taking their theology from the superior authority; like most other people, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the secular clergy were generally disposed not to partisanship but to conformity. Most of the clergy remained undisturbed in their livings through the violent changes and reactions of the reigns of Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Conservative England carried on.

When authority pronounced definitely in favor of Protestantism, the clergy became for the most part more definitely Protestant than the authority, and the population more aggressively Protestant than the clergy; but that must be attributed largely to the Protestant sympathies aroused by the fires of Smithfield and still more, very soon after, by Alva's persecution of the Protestants in the Netherlands and the growing hostility to Philip of Spain and the pope as insolent foreigners who presumed to dictate to Englishmen. The identification of 'papistry' with the cause of Spain and of Mary Stuart, for which the popes, Philip and the Jesuits had themselves to thank, developed a popular spirit of intolerance towards Rome and all its works of which there was little indication during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign. Popular resentment towards Roman doctrine was born of the idea that whatever was Roman must be anti-patriotic, among a people for whom patriotism was a passion.



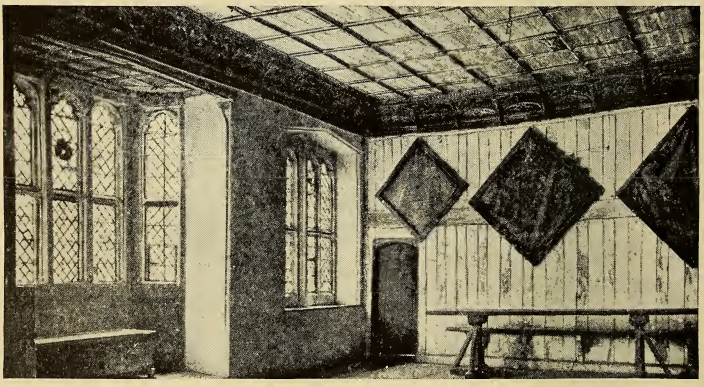
MERCHANT CASTING UP HIS ACCOUNTS

What distinguished the Tudor period was the pursuit of wealth from commerce instead of property, for its own ends instead of for political power and by high as well as low. The merchant finds his way into art, as in this contemporary German engraving for the edition of Cicero's De Officiis published at Augsburg in 1531.

British Museum

The intellectual movement was vigorous from the beginning of the period. There was an enthusiasm for learning and the spread of learning. The new scholarship was in the air; English scholars, notably Thomas More, won a European reputation; the great ecclesiastics, until the breach with Rome absorbed their interest, were zealous educationists, and none more so than Wolsey, founders of schools. If Cranmer had had his way, far more of the monastic wealth would

Rebuilt by Sir William Compton in the reign of Henry VIII, this fine old Tudor mansion is the manor house of Compton Wynyates, a Warwickshire village, and is almost concealed in the hollow where it lies among the southern hills. Roundheads besieged and captured it during the Civil War.



In the Rutlandshire village of Lyddington, close to the west end of the church, stands this Tudor building now known as the Bede House, of which the picture shows the hall, with its oaken walls and remarkably fine ceiling. Once a palace of the bishops of Lincoln, it is now used as almshouses.

BEAUTIFUL SPECIMENS OF TUDOR BUILDING IN WARWICK AND RUTLAND

Photos, Herbert Felton (top) and H. J. Smith

have been appropriated to that purpose than was actually the case; but, of what was appropriated to public ends, almost all that Henry VIII did not take for his hobby, the development of the navy and naval defense, went to education.

Great nobles emulated Henry VII and Henry VIII in seeking to make their children paragons of learning. Poor little Lady Jane Grey—a most reluctant queen for a few unhappy days—commands our pity for her over-educated childhood almost as much as for her untimely end; so advanced was she in her studies that at fourteen she sought recreation in the pages of Plato, and her benevolent tutor was looking out for someone competent to instruct her in Hebrew.

The idea of scholarship in the English language was only coming to birth—More wrote his Utopia in Latin. The higher education—only in reach of the few—meant the study of a few Greek and Latin authors, and that of the new educational foundations for the poorer classes was mainly directed to Latin.

The capacities of English as a language were beginning indeed to be tested by such poets as Surrey and Wyatt, who drew their inspiration from the Italians; but were as yet most definitely manifested in religious and controversial writings, in the preaching of Hugh Latimer, the translation of the Bible and the harmonies of the new English liturgy. An English literature had been created at the close of the fourteenth century by Langland, Wycliffe and Chaucer; but the century that followed Chaucer's death was sterile, and the first half of the sixteenth century was a period not of rich production but of gestation in which there were only indications of a fruitful future.

It was an age, however, which had already developed the love of pageantry and display which was so marked a feature of the Elizabethan era: an extravagant age, after the accession of Henry VIII. His father, indeed, was a rigid economist who never spent a penny for which he did not expect to get full value, though his chapel in Westminster Abbey is witness that he was conscious of artistic value as well as of what we call utility; but ostentation had no attraction for the English Vespasian, and ostentation on the part of his subjects would merely have provided him with an excuse for politely phrased extortion.

Youth and gaiety were given their fling when the brilliant young Harry succeeded his penurious parent and scattered his accumulated treasures with a lavish hand. The astute Wolsey, who relieved him of the burden of state business, encouraged his extravagance and matched him in the lavishness of his own expenditure. The nobles vied with each other in ruining themselves to outdo the magnificence of the French in the gorgeous displays of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and when the royal treasury was drained almost dry the spoliation of the monasteries served to maintain the extravagances of the court, while the new men emphasized their gentility in the manner customary to the new rich.

The reckless and corrupt financial administration in the latter years of Henry VIII and throughout the reigns of Edward VI and Mary was a serious check to the general middle-class prosperity, but a temporary check only. Elizabeth and her wisely chosen ministers made it their first business to combine economy with efficiency, to get rid of corruption, to pay debts promptly so that money was easily raised instead of at usurious interest, and to spend judiciously. With the sense of stability confidence was restored and prosperity rapidly revived.

The process of 'enclosure' would seem to have reached its limits, and the readjustment of the displaced labor went forward continuously, automatically reducing the problem of unemployment. The disappearance of the craft guilds admitted the unskilled laborers to occupations from which they had hitherto been excluded—originally in the interest of sound workmanship, but latterly because the artisans resented and resisted an increase of their own numbers—without detriment to efficiency, since the necessary skill was easily acquired in

many of the hitherto preserved fields. Expanding markets caused the demand for labor to overtake and keep pace with the supply; all the more when the influx of refugees from the Netherlands skilled in weaving raised the standard of English workmanship, improved the quality of the English goods, and gave to them a substantial part of the markets which the Flemings had lost by Alva's misguided policy of oppression and inordinate taxation. Spinning and weaving could be carried on beside the domestic hearth in conjunction with outdoor employment.

The famous mansion of the Brereton family, Handforth Hall, is a magnificent example of Tudor domestic architecture. It was probably built about 1562.

Photo, Herbert Felton

The development did not take place in a moment, but the long period of grave agricultural depression was ended at the end, as it had begun at the beginning, of the Tudor period.

But this was by no means the whole of the change that was taking place in the reign of Elizabeth. The new call of the sea was heard not merely by the traders with the European continent, but by an ever-increasing swarm of adventurers in whom the love of adventure for its own sake was supplemented by the sporting chance of huge profits to be acquired by means which might or might not be strictly legitimate, and were no doubt accompanied by heavy risks, but would in any case be applied in regions where law was of very little account.

When war was declared openly later there was no limit to the depredations that might be wrought and the loot that might be collected from Spanish galleons, and that maritime war went on for twenty years. The financing of privateers was a business in which the chance of huge profits was worth the risk of disaster, and much wealth was brought into the country, of which a large proportion went not to the adventurers themselves, but to the traders who had financed them, to be utilized in further commercial enterprise. A new era of commercial companies was born, and the first charter of the East India Company was dated on the last day of the sixteenth century, though as yet no attempt at planting a colony oversea had succeeded.

The identification of Romanism with anti-patriotism by the government and by popular opinion, to which allusion has already been made, necessarily raised a social barrier between Romanists and Protestants. The old marked separation between clergy and laity faded with the disappearance of the regulars and of the law of celibacy, but the Roman Catholic clergy became in effect outlaws as presumably professional propagandists of anti-patriotism and treason. Anti-patriotism, however, was in actual fact confined to the fanatics of Romanism.

The diversities of Protestantism, on the other hand, took effect in a different way. The Bible in English—though there was as yet no 'authorized version' found in every household—became universally familiar because those who did not read it for themselves heard its words read Sunday by Sunday in the church services, which they had to attend regularly on pain of fines for absenting themselves. No other literature was even approximately so familiar to the masses,

PICTURESQUE SPLENDOR OF HALF-TIMBERED TUDOR ARCHITECTURE

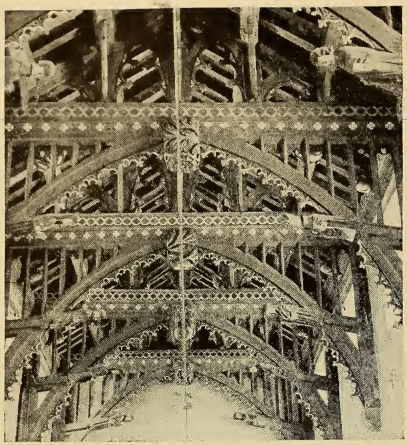
Moreton Old Hall, near Congleton, Cheshire, is an irregular and picturesque moated building dating from the sixteenth century. Elaborately half-timbered, it is built on two sides of a court and has a fine oaken roof, while its diminutive leaded window panes well exemplify the glazier's art.

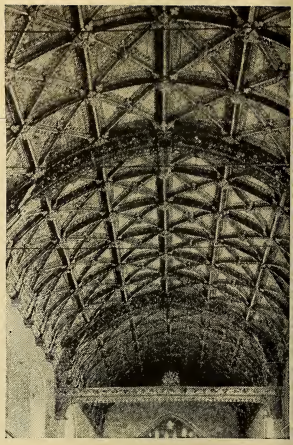
Photo, Frith

and the people became imbued with ideas which were derived mainly from the Old Testament.

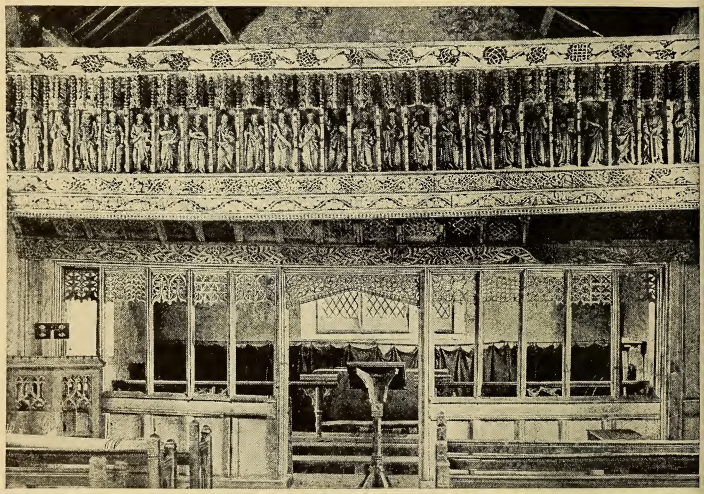
Puritanism was born; which meant in effect the rigid regulation of men's lives by the precepts and ideals derived from the Old Testament, coupled generally with the conception of Rome as the Scarlet Woman of the Revelations. It had less kinship with the Sermon on the Mount than with the Song of Deborah. Jesuits were the priests of Baal, and the enemies of England were Egyptians to be spoiled, Amalekites who were to be put to the sword. When the Armada went to pieces, it was because 'The Lord blew and His enemies were scattered.' It brought the speech of religion, the phrases of the Bible, into common use, and it was perfectly sincere until it was conventionalized, became a matter not of conviction but of lip-service, and set the tone of sober respectability; though it was incapable of becoming fashionable, and was too austere ever to grip the masses. Nor did sober respectability ever appeal to the more vigorous spirits in a generation which was primarily engaged in breaking through the conventions of centuries and in seeking new (and frequently forbidden) fields of development.

Puritanism, of the genuine and not the conventional order, is the expression of the same spirit which in the ancient world manifested itself as Stoicism, a spirit much more congenial to the Romans than to the Greeks, the product of an intense sense of moral responsibility. In the Elizabethans, besides the puritanism there was also a vast amount of no less vigorous paganism, the spirit born of high physical and intellectual energy, apt to be impatient or neglectful of moral responsibility. If the circumstances caused the puritanism of the day to associate itself more particularly with a pronouncedly Calvinistic theology, with which the very





The church at Bere Regis, in Dorset, is noted for its superb timber roof of the Perpendicular period (left). Right: rich colorings and frettings adorn the roof of Cullompton Church, in Devon, dated 1548. This church possesses a famous rood beam, carved with foliage, which the photograph shows.



The church at Llananno, in Radnorshire, is one of those Welsh churches celebrated for containing examples of the late Gothic carving belonging to the early Tudor period. Its fine oaken rood screen and loft date from the late fifteenth century, but the twenty-five figures shown are modern.

EXAMPLES OF LATE GOTHIC ART IN CHURCH DECORATION

Photos, B. C. Clayton

CHANGE WROUGHT BY A CENTURY IN SHREWSBURY'S TUDOR ARCHITECTURE

An etching, dated 1821, shows Shrewsbury High Street as it then appeared with its half-timbered Tudor houses. Since then many frontages have been replaced by modern shop windows.

Photo, Owen and Blakeway, 'History of Shrewsbury'

idea of irresponsibility was incompatible, paganism was independent both of religion and irreligion. Perhaps it was most markedly manifested in the literature and especially in the drama which burst into such sudden brilliance in the last twenty years of the century. The pervading qualities of the Elizabethan drama, however controlled in the hands of the greatest masters, were a superabundant and even reckless energy and a passion for color and movement from the moment when it ceased to be academically imitative of classical models and became audaciously spontaneous.

Energy, color, movement—these, not without a strong element of the fantastic in its later days, are the outstanding notes of the social as well as the political life of the sixteenth century in England, the era of the Tudors. The color passes from the garish crudity of the first period to the brilliance of the second; the movement, spasmodic and uncertain at first, becomes ordered and organized by degrees; the energy in the last years is reaching its highest pitch in a new field, the field of literature. It was only after the great crisis of the Armada, as in Athens of old it had been after the great crises of Marathon and Salamis, that the energy could concentrate upon literature.

And perhaps it is the fantastic element therein which has most to do with the surface of the social life of the later period. The days of the Armada were

also the days of Euphuism. The author of Euphues was serious enough, but he was amazingly fantastic, and the enormous success of his work was the result, not the cause, of what might be called the fantastic attitude, in which men sought relaxation from strenuousness or evaded it. Euphuism and verbal jugglery became the common speech of polite society, because it was a society which rejoiced in the fantastic action as well as in fantastic speech in which a Walter Raleigh spread his glittering cloak in a puddle for Gloriana to step daintily over —the same Raleigh who a few years later was exploring the Orinoco, and in the next reign was to end his life on the scaffold for the gratification of a foreign court.

The whole age was strenuous; it traded, wrought, fought and adventured strenuously; it was strenuous in its passions, its enthusiasms and its hatreds; it played riotously, and enjoyed itself enormously; and the fantasticality which embroidered its close was the light relief of its strenuousness.

CRUELTY AND INJUSTICE IN THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES

It is hard to take a fair view of the dissolution of the monasteries. On the one hand most of those in the south were corrupt; on the other, the methods adopted by Thomas Cromwell and his commissioners were undeniably brutal. This sepia drawing—from a survey of the lands of Colchester Abbey made about 1540—shows the judge leaving Colchester after the execution (1539) of Abbot Beche for refusal to surrender his house; ostensibly for high treason. According to Cromwell's instructions, he was sent down from the Tower to his native place 'for trial *and execution.*'

British Museum, Egerton MS. 2164

CHINA UNDER THE MING DYNASTY

RECUPERATION OF PROSPERITY AND EXTERNAL POWER AFTER THE DEGRADATION OF THE MONGOL CONQUEST

By LIONEL GILES

Deputy Keeper, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, British Museum; Author of Sayings of Confucius

THE establishment of the Ming dynasty is a remarkable instance of national recuperation after a lengthy period of humiliation and suffering. During the twelfth century the Chinese were forced to yield gradually to the pressure of the Nü-chên, and the Sungs had to content themselves with a truncated realm, until even that was wrested from them by the conquering Mongols (see Chap. 98). China was now subjected to the most terrible experience which it is possible for a great nation to undergo: total subjugation by a race far less civilized than itself. Not that the Mongols were wholly deficient in good qualities. Terrible fighters and ruthless in their military methods, they showed themselves fairly tolerant and easy-going in their rule after the lust of battle had abated.

The Great Khan established a system of government which in many respects was the last word in efficiency. The roads and postal administration which excited the wonder of Marco Polo had never been brought to such perfection under native rule. The Empire was divided into twelve provinces, and a hierarchy of officials installed after the Chinese model. An imperial college was opened at the capital, and others were affiliated to it in the principal cities of each province. A section of the Grand Canal, nearly a hundred miles long, was constructed to facilitate the transport of merchandise to the capital. Paper money was circulated and foreign trade encouraged.

It must not be supposed, however, that all or any of these measures could have been successfully carried through without the willing co-operation of the Chinese people. Reading Marco Polo, one is apt to forget that the whole superstructure of Mongol magnificence rested on a solid Chinese foundation. Though for some eighty years they formed the ruling caste, the actual number of Mongols in the Empire was relatively very small indeed.

Long ago it was pointed out by Yule

CHINESE PAPER MONEY

The Chinese were the first to use printed paper money. We know that 'bank-notes' were current in the T'ang period, but the earliest preserved are Ming, of which this is a specimen.

British Museum

that nothing is more strange in Marco Polo's book than the number of its omissions. He seems to have no sense at all of the unity of the Chinese race. For him, China consists of two 'provinces,' Cathay and Manzi, both 'subject to the Great Khan.' In the actual inhabitants of the country, their language, customs and peculiarities, he takes singularly little interest. He speaks of many 'great and noble cities,' but when he has told us that the people are 'idolaters, use paper money, and burn their dead,' he seems to have exhausted his stock of information.

The pacific temper of the Chinese evidently made a great impression on Marco, accustomed to the broils and vendettas of medieval Italy, for he alludes to it more than once, generally with a shade of contempt, as in his account of Soochow. 'If the men of this city,' he says, 'and of the rest of Manzi had but the spirit of soldiers they would conquer the world; but they are no soldiers at all, only accomplished traders and most skilful craftsmen.' On the other hand, he speaks of the troops from the province of Cathay as 'good soldiers.'

One of the features of this age that attracted the attention of other travelers besides Marco Polo was the general use of paper money.

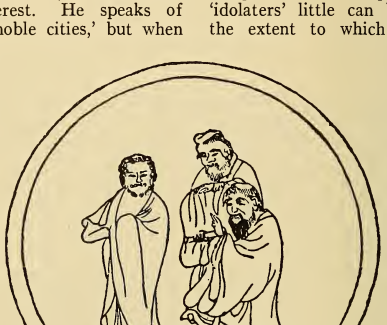
Polo's description of the notes which he saw tallies very closely with existing specimens of Ming bank-notes, but he fails to observe that the characters on them were not written by hand, but printed. A little more curiosity on his part might easily have led to the introduction of the art of printing into Europe a century and a half before the date of Gutenberg (see Chap. 111), with incalculable effects on the history of the world.

The dearth of reliable information about the native religion in the pages of Marco Polo affords a good instance of his inability to get below the surface of things. From his repeated references to 'idolaters' little can be deduced except the extent to which the masses were swayed by the doctrines of Buddhism and Taoism (for he does not seem to have distinguished between the two).

Of Confucianism we hear nothing from Marco Polo, although it was then, thanks to its rehabilitation by the Sung philosophers, in a more flourishing condition than it had been for many centuries.

Though it is easy, from our present point of view, to find fault with Marco Polo for omitting so much that we should have liked to hear, we must not forget to be grateful for what we do find in his book. For example, we should never have guessed, but for his constant allusions to cremation, how widespread that custom was among the Chinese in the Middle Ages.

Some thirty years after Polo's departure, the Franciscan friar Odoric of Pordenone traveled through the Empire. He like his predecessor, was chiefly struck by the density of the population, the abundance of food supplies and the number of traders and artificers. Canton was 'as big as three Venices,' with an incredible amount of shipping. The port of Zaiton was 'twice as great as Bologna and full of monasteries, one of which contained 3,000 monks and 11,000 idols



CHINESE PORTRAIT OF CHRIST

A relic of Chinese Nestorianism is this woodcut reproduction (1588) of a painting perhaps by Yen Li-pên (c. 650). It shows Christ (left; note the Western features) with two tonsured Nestorian priests, and is entitled 'Three in One.'

From Herbert Giles, 'Chinese Pictorial Art'

Kinsai (Hangchow) was 'the greatest and noblest city, and the first for merchandise, that the whole world containeth,' and so forth. The Chinese men, to his eye, are 'comely enough,' while the women are 'the most beautiful in the world.' He notices at least two customs which are not mentioned by Polo: the long finger-nails, which he rightly calls the mark of gentility, and foot-binding:

> With the women, the great beauty is to have little feet; and for this reason mothers are accustomed, as soon as girls are born to them, to swathe their feet tightly so that they can never grow in the least.

Another piece of information, of peculiar interest to us, relates to the existence of Nestorian Christianity in different parts of the Empire. Not only were there churches at Ho-chien Fu in Chihli, at Chinkiang on the Yang-tse and at the Sung capital of Hangchow, but, according to Marco, also a few Christians in the remote province of Yunnan. The two churches at Chinkiang were built in 1278 by one Mar Sargis, a Nestorian Christian who was governor of the city for three years. This statement of Polo's has been corroborated and much amplified by certain notices of Christians which were discovered towards the end of the nineteenth century in an old Chinese topographical work printed in 1333. Odoric, writing about the same time, mentions three Nestorian churches at Yang-chou, besides an establishment of his own order, the Franciscans.

The latter is accounted for by the mission of John of Montecorvino, who arrived in China very soon after Polo left it. This brave and enterprising Franciscan presented a letter from the pope to the Mongol khan, and was well received. Within six years, though suffering much from Nestorian ill will, he had built a church in Cambaluc and had baptised some 6,000 people. His success moved Pope Clement V to send out seven Minorites of episcopal rank, three of whom arrived in 1308 and consecrated Montecorvino archbishop. For sixty years the church flourished, but after the expulsion of the Mongols the progress of Christianity in China was cut short, not to be resumed until the Ming dynasty was approaching its end.

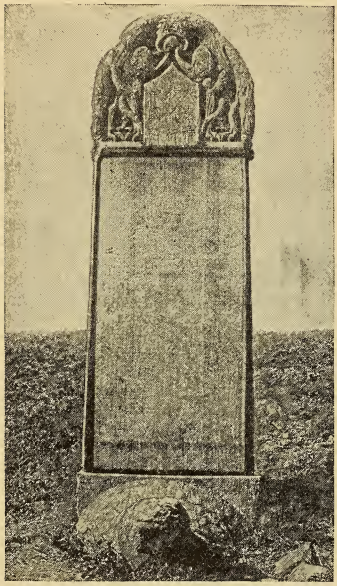
It is indeed remarkable how often fate intervened to prevent any permanent intercourse between China and the West. As we have seen in Chapter 66, a promising avenue of communication was closed as early as the Han dynasty, when direct trading relations with the Roman Empire seemed on the point of achievement. A few centuries later, religion was the bond that seemed likely to draw East and West together. The zeal of Nestorian missionaries was rewarded by a period of striking success, as is shown by their famous inscribed tablet, erected in 781. But in the middle of the ninth century came the great persecution of the Buddhist and other foreign religions, in which no fewer than 4,600 temples were destroyed and some 260,000 monks and nuns turned adrift. Buddhism was too deeply rooted in Chinese soil to be exterminated even by a blow like this; but it proved fatal to the minor sects, and until the time of Marco Polo nothing more is heard of Nestorianism in China.

William of Rubruquis gives an unflattering account of the Nestorians whom he met on his travels, and they certainly showed a narrow, sectarian spirit in their dealings with the missionaries who arrived at the end of the thirteenth century. The Dominican John of Cora says that in 1330 there were more than 30,000 Nestorians in the Empire, and that if they were only willing to live in harmony with the friars and other Christians in the country, both the people and their rulers might be converted to the true faith. As it was, all traces of Christianity were wiped out in the course of the Ming dynasty, and when at last the Jesuits appeared on the scene the work of evangelization had to be begun afresh.

From very early times the Chinese have been in the habit of making periodical enumerations of the people, and many of the returns have been preserved. For the most part, only the number of households and of individuals is recorded; but in the topographical work mentioned above there is included a census of the Chinkiang district for the year 1331, which gives much more detail. The total population was found to be 114,218 families, together consisting of about 650,000 individuals (one item is lost), of whom 2,421 were foreigners.

No less interesting are the different

professions under which the inhabitants are classed. First comes the bulk of the people under a heading which is said to include peasants, artisans, shopkeepers, traders, clerks, petty officials and slaves. Then we find, in the following order,



THE FAMOUS NESTORIAN STELE

Nestorianism reached China in the 7th century, as is proved by the inscription on the 'Nestorian stele,' erected near Singan in 781. It records the favor shown by successive T'ang emperors, with a hazy account of Christian doctrines.

From Chavannes, 'Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale'

literati, physicians, couriers and express messengers, official underlings, tax-gatherers, boatmen, skilled workmen, soldiers, musicians, members of the Lunghua sect (a religious order dedicated to the worship of Maitreya Buddha), professors of the occult arts (divination, astrology, geomancy, etc.), hunters, monks who had re-entered secular life, Buddhist and Taoist monks, nuns and lay brothers. The Buddhists total 2,403 persons, as against 570 Taoists.

But for Western notices, we should never have been impressed with the full glory of Kinsai, nor suspected, perhaps, even the existence of the seaport of Zaiton, which the Arab Ibn Batuta pronounced the greatest in the world. The Chinese themselves evidently took all this as a matter of course, for no description of any port that can positively be identified with Zaiton has yet come to light in their topographies. Both the origin of the name and the exact situation of the city are still doubtful, though it is often taken to have been Tsuen-chow.

Many more facts, then, were learned about China in the comparatively short Mongol period than had come to the knowledge of the West during all the preceding centuries. As soon as the Mongols quit the stage, an impenetrable curtain falls once more, and for two hundred years the people of Europe knew nothing of what was going on in the Far East. When the next act begins with the arrival of the Jesuits, the scene has changed almost beyond recognition.

From the first, the Ming rulers appear to have taken up a suspicious, not to say hostile, attitude towards foreigners, very different from the friendly gestures with which the Mongols welcomed them to their court.

In considering the fortunes of the Ming dynasty, one cannot but remark a general resemblance to the course of events under other imperial houses. In most cases the triumphs of the initial period are secured by a ruler of strong and masterful character; but the dynasty soon falls off into a succession of effeminate, self-indulgent or imbecile monarchs who allow the policy of the state to be shaped by favorite concubines and their unworthy creatures. The great rulers of Chinese history have nearly always been founders of a dynasty or early representatives of their line. Such emperors as Wu Ti of the Han and Hsüan Tsung of the T'ang are only partial exceptions, as both belong to the first half of their respective dynasties. But it is seldom indeed that we find a man of even moderate capacity among the later scions of an imperial house.

The revolution in which the youthful grandson of Hung Wu disappeared was

in one sense a blessing, in that it raised up another masterful ruler in the person of Yung Lo who like his father had to fight for his throne. These two men, while lacking the touch of supreme genius that we discover in a 'superman' such as T'ai Tsung, both governed firmly and well; it was owing to their sleepless vigilance that the Mongol power was kept within bounds and never again became a serious menace to the safety of the state. Both were ardent Buddhists, in the sense that they fostered the religion and tried to extend its influence. Of true religious feeling and personal observation of the fundamental Buddhist precepts their careers show but little trace, although Hung Wu spent some years of his youth as a novice in a monastery.

Near the chief city of Kiangsu, which he had captured and renamed Nanking or 'Southern Capital,' Hung Wu, first of the Mings, built a mausoleum approached by an avenue of colossal stone guardians; those seen here are armed as military mandarins. Yung Lo, however, moved the capital to Peking, and here a similar mausoleum arose; some of its figures are robed as civil officials.

Photo, E.N.A.

Yung Lo's mausoleum is about 25 miles north of Peking, not far from where the southern curtain of the Great Wall crosses the Nankow Pass. It differs from the earlier one at Nanking in that its avenue contains, besides human figures, two pairs each (one pair standing, the other crouching) of camels, elephants, lions, unicorns, horses and 'ch'i-lin' (fabulous animals). Whoever succeeds in lodging a stone on the back of one of the standing elephants is supposed to win good luck.

LIMESTONE MONOLITHS THAT GUARD THE TOMBS OF THE THE EARLY MING EMPERORS

Photo, E.N.A.

It may be noted in passing that Hung Wu is not the personal name of Chu Yüan-chang, but the 'nien-hao' or 'year title' chosen to denote the years of his reign (1368-98) when he ascended the throne. In all previous dynasties, from the time of the Former Han, it had been optional for emperors to change or retain their year titles as their fancy dictated. Thus the T'ang emperor T'ai Tsung kept to a single year title, namely Chêng Kuan, whereas his successor Kao Tsung had as many as fourteen in the course of a reign lasting thirty-three years. Under the Ming it became the invariable rule for the same year title to be retained throughout a reign, so that it is sometimes used as if it were the name of the emperor himself. Hence we speak of the Ming emperors Hung Wu and Yung Lo, or of the Ch'ing emperors K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung, etc.

OFFICIAL OF A MING COURT

This little seated statuette of buff pottery glazed a dull green illustrates the dress and appearance of court officials under the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), which revived the glories of the T'ang regime.

Eumorfopoulos Collection

The Ming dynasty, then, must be owned to have made an excellent start, especially when we remember the tribulations that the country had recently passed through. Let us summarize the more important achievements of Hung Wu.

To begin with, he swept the Mongols out of China and beat them decisively in battle after battle. He added the provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan to the Empire, forced Burma to pay tribute and imposed his suzerainty on Korea. His domestic reforms were equally drastic and far-reaching. The whole system of government was overhauled and remodeled on the pattern of T'ang, a penal code was promulgated, taxation was regulated on a new basis, and public examinations were reorganized in the form which they retained until the beginning of the twentieth century. Literature was patronized and education promoted.

In most respects the emperor Yung Lo proved a worthy son of his father, and the three years of violent civil commotion which followed Hung Wu's death cannot be laid entirely at his door. The young emperor Hui Ti had committed himself to the guidance of one Fang Hsiao-ju, an honest but fanatical statesman who managed to embroil him with all his uncles. Five of them were degraded, but the prince of Yen happened to be a man of energy and decision. Seeing that he was marked down for destruction, he threw off his allegiance and marched southwards. The fall of Nanking was marked by scenes of needless cruelty, but it must be admitted that he had received great provocation.

Assuming the year title of Yung Lo, the new emperor began his reign (1403-24) with measures of foreign policy that were carried out with characteristic thoroughness. Determined to uphold and extend Chinese prestige abroad, he sent embassies to Java, Sumatra, Siam and Bengal. A further expedition was sent out in 1405 to cruise along the

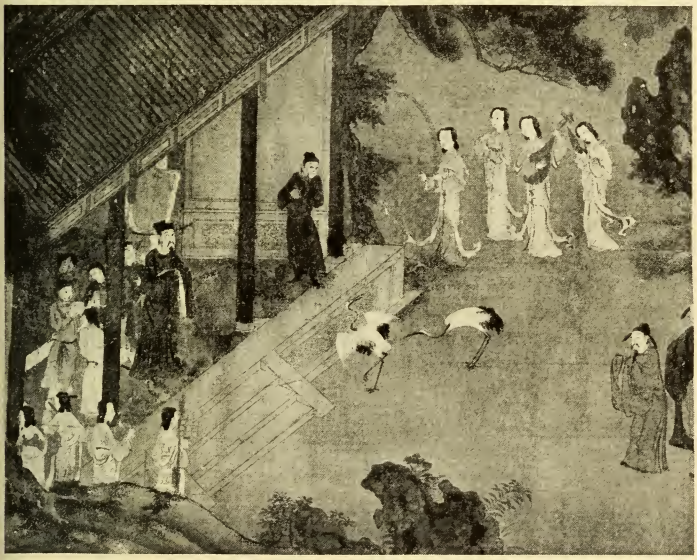
coasts of 'the kingdoms of the Western Ocean.' The leader was a eunuch, Chêng Ho, who had distinguished himself as a military officer, but was destined to win greater fame by a series of naval exploits in the south seas. On reaching Ceylon, he appears to have made an attempt to gain possession of a sacred tooth of Buddha, treasured there as a relic. The king of the country—now identified with Alagakhonára—refused to yield it up, and Chêng Ho withdrew.

In 1409 (according to the Galle Trilingual Stone, discovered in the present century) Chêng Ho was back in Ceylon, this time with a powerful fleet of sixty-two ships, packed with soldiers. In the fighting that ensued the Chinese were able by a clever ruse to slip past the enemy and take the capital by storm. The king was captured and carried off to China, together with his wives and children, and the leading men of the kingdom. This astounding feat of arms at once established China as the dominant power in the Indian Ocean, and her influence extended as far as the east coast of Africa.

It is pleasant, at any rate, to be able to record that the unfortunate monarch was mercifully dealt with; though dethroned, he was permitted to return to his own country in 1412.

In the years that followed, the sea power of the Chinese seems to have reached its climax: the wonder is that it had taken so long to develop, and declined again so rapidly.

Until the era of the great Portuguese explorers, Chinese navigation compares favorably with that of European countries. The size of the Chinese ships,



ENVOYS CEREMONIOUSLY RECEIVED AT THE IMPERIAL PALACE

A painted roll some fifteen feet long by Ch'iu Ying (fifteenth century) is entitled Han Kung Ch'un, or 'Springtime in the palace of the Han (Dynasty)'; but actually, of course, shows court customs and costumes of the Ming period. The part here reproduced is the reception of envoys. Among Ming artists Ch'iu Ying is esteemed by Chinese critics for his figure grouping.

British Museum

belonging to 'the merchants who traffic about the Isles of the Indies,' excited the admiration of all medieval travelers, including Marco Polo, who tells us that they had 'four masts, and sometimes two additional masts, which they ship and unship at pleasure.' Every great ship contained from fifty to sixty cabins, accommodated a crew of at least two hundred sailors, and was accompanied by certain large barks or tenders, besides about ten small boats which when under sail she carried slung to her sides. Or, so Marco Polo claimed.

YOUNG ACTOR IN A FEMALE ROLE

The earliest record of Chinese drama is the Pear-tree Garden academy founded by the T'ang emperor Hsüan Tsung—whence actors are still known as Young Folk of the Pear-tree Garden. To-day female parts, as above, are taken by men, but this was not so in the classic days of the Mongol dynasty.

Photo, B. T. Prideaux

In the time of Fa-Hien, or Fa-Hsien, the famous Chinese pilgrim of about A.D. 400 ships were steered solely by the sun, moon and stars, and if possible kept within sight of land. It is doubtful at what date the magnetic compass was first applied to the art of navigation, but it does not seem to have been in general use for many centuries after Fa-Hien. The invention of the compass is generally attributed to the Chinese on the strength of a passage in the history of the Liu Sung dynasty, which was written about A.D. 500. This deals with vehicles of a strange type known as 'south-pointing chariots,' which are there said to date back to the twelfth century B.C.

But the first undoubted reference to the mariner's compass is found in a work belonging to the first quarter of the twelfth century. It is there called the 'south-pointing floating needle,' and it was used on ships that went to Korea in 1122.

A momentous step was taken by Yung Lo towards the end of his reign, when he transferred his capital from Nanking to Peking. The location of the capital has always been a matter of the first importance at all periods of Chinese history, and many volumes might be written on the subject.

Khanbaligh or Cambaluc, in the immediate vicinity of the modern city of Peking, was the site adopted by the Mongols from their predecessors the Nü-chên. The founder of the Ming dynasty fixed his abode at Nanking, and for a time it seemed as if this city, occupying a commanding position on the Yang-tse, not too far from its mouth, and about equidistant from the northern and southern frontiers, might become the permanent capital of China. But the constant warfare which Yung Lo had to wage against

the Tatars of Mongolia convinced him of the superior advantages of a capital in the north, and in 1421 the transfer of the court of Peking became an accomplished fact.

That the policy was not without its dangers was sharply demonstrated within thirty years of the change, when a Chinese emperor was actually taken prisoner by the Mongols, and carried off in triumph. Had the capital remained at Nanking, it is highly improbable that the Manchus would have been able to conquer the whole Empire, though they might have overrun the northern provinces.

The literature of the Yüan (Mongol) and Ming dynasties is not usually considered equal to that which had been produced under the T'ang and the Sung. Poems and essays continued to pour forth in abundance, but the magical touch of a Li Po or an Ou-yang Hsiu was wanting. But the national genius was far from being exhausted; now, for the first time in history, that great stream of popular literature which we know to have been in existence for more than a thousand years, but which was consistently ignored or kept out of sight by the scholarly classes, forced its way to the surface and began to flow in two main channels, which are known to us as the drama and the novel.

No record of anything in the nature of a stage play can be traced until the reign of Hsüan Tsung (712-756), who founded a sort of academy, known as the Pear-tree Garden, for the training of young people in the arts of music and dancing, and the production of what, for want of a better name, may be described as operas. It was not until the close of the Sung dynasty, in the middle of the thirteenth century, that the dramatic instincts of the Chinese were really awakened.

The earliest stage play that has come down to us, The Story of the Western Pavilion, is also one of the most exquisite from a literary point of view, though more lyrical in character and less vigorous in action than many that were to follow. A marvellous creative period now set in, almost comparable in fertility of genius to the Elizabethan era in England. The names are recorded of no fewer than 564 plays written by 85 playwrights who lived under the Yüan dynasty, and a collection of the hundred best pieces has been preserved to form the classical repertory, so to speak, of the Chinese theatre. This sudden flowering of an art which had begun to cast its roots in Chinese soil as early as the time of Confucius is one of the strangest phenomena in literature.

Under the Ming and Manchu dynasties

SPLENDOR OF MING PORCELAIN

Under the Mings porcelain made great advances, largely owing to the innovation of painting in colors beneath the glaze. This porcelain figure is of the canonised warrior Kuan Yü; it has a hole at the back for offerings.

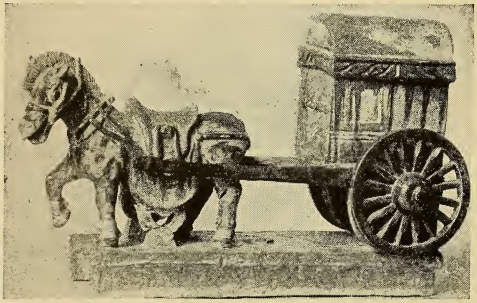
Eumorfopoulos Collection

the drama suffered no decline in popularity, though the great outburst of creative activity gradually began to wane.

Plays are roughly classified as 'civil' and 'military.' Falling somewhat outside these two main classes are the quasi-religious plays dealing with exhibitions of Taoist magic, or the very popular variety of comedy in which priests, both Buddhist and Taoist, are held up to ridi-

cule. Contrary to the usual belief, women took part in theatricals throughout the Mongol and Ming dynasties, and a stop was only put to the practice in the eighteenth century, during the reign of the emperor Ch'ien Lung, whose mother had herself been an actress.

The history of the novel in China runs on more or less parallel lines with that of the drama. Evidence has come to light showing that a great quantity of popular fiction must have existed alongside the elegant productions of the T'ang littérateurs. Few traces of it, however, now remain, except in collections of short stories, mostly dealing with the supernatural; and even these owe their survival less to their intrinsic quality than to extraneous graces of style. Hence the novel has the same illusory appearance of springing into sudden life as the somewhat earlier beginnings of the drama.



HOW MING LADIES WENT TRAVELING

As in the case of earlier dynasties, it is the tombs that continue to furnish the most intimate glimpses of Chinese social life during the Ming regime. This horse-drawn covered traveling carriage of pottery has its back and front closed with doors, and windows pierced in the sides.

Collection of Mr. George Eumorfopoulos

The History of the Three Kingdoms, written in the fourteenth century and of doubtful authorship, is a prose epic or panoramic romance covering a period of nearly a hundred years, from the decay of the Han to the rise of the Chin dynasty. A complete English translation has been published, from which a good idea may be gained of the original, with its thrilling episodes and innumerable but well-marked characters. The whole book is alive, and there is hardly a dull page in it from first to last. Almost as popular, and even more valuable for the insight it gives into Chinese manners and customs, is another long novel entitled The Story of the River Banks, which still awaits a translator. In spite of these early examples, the novelist's art did not make such rapid progress as the drama, or perhaps the impulse was more sustained; for the latter part of the Ming dynasty was prolific in story writers, and one at least of the great Chinese novels (in the opinion of some good judges the greatest of all) belongs to the middle of the eighteenth century.

Those who are anxious to make a study of ordinary domestic life in the Ming period may be recommended to turn to some of the shorter tales such as Hao Ch'iu Chuan or Yü Chiao Li, both of which have been excellently translated into French and less successfully into English. We are introduced to a leisured, cultured society in which literary attainments count for much more than wealth or rank.

The inferior status of women, about which much has been written, seems to have been more a matter of theory than of practice. In domestic affairs they usually had the controlling voice, and the girls of a family were sometimes as well educated as their brothers. It is noticeable, if not significant, that in each of the novels above mentioned the heroine evinces a quick intelligence and a force of character which almost overshadow her lover.

It is not only in the output of fiction that Ming literature can show solid achievement. Scholarship is represented by many great names, and philosophical speculation did not stand still. Though the Confucianist system of Chu Hsi may, by its very completeness, have become something of a dead weight, stifling further inquiry, there is at least one heterodox thinker, Wang Yang-ming, whose

doctrines have been studied with increasing attention down to the present day. His thought contains two cardinal principles: one, that knowledge and practice must not be divorced; the other, that every man with his individual mind should strive to investigate the principles of things in themselves. Apart from the mind, no active power exists. The standard of moral conduct is to be found in our own nature and needs only to be properly interpreted. No historical work of outstanding importance was produced in the Ming dynasty, but two useful dictionaries of the Chinese language paved the way for the standard K'ang Hsi lexicon, which has not yet been superseded. A great Materia Medica was also published, containing information of high scientific value on plants, minerals, etc.

But all feats of book-making dwindle to small proportions in comparison with the Yung Lo Ta Tien, an encyclopedic compilation in all departments of human knowledge. With its 22,937 chapters or sections in some 10,000 bound volumes, it could claim beyond dispute to be the largest book that the world has ever seen. Unfortunately, its immense bulk made the cost of printing prohibitive, and the original manuscript perished by fire before the Ming dynasty came to an end. Two copies had previously been made, one of which survived in part until the end of the nineteenth century. Many volumes were burnt during the Boxer troubles, and at present only a few hundred remain, scattered through various public and private collections. The six volumes in the British Museum contain much matter not as yet printed.

MEMBERS OF A MANDARIN'S HOUSEHOLD

These pottery figures from Ming tombs are artistically in no way superior to the T'ang specimens, though the application of glaze shows a technical advance. On the left is a lady with a dish, followed by a man in a cowl and a musician with a conical cap holding a trumpet.

Collection of Mr. George Eumorfopoulos

In the domain of pictorial art, the Ming period may be acknowledged to stand lower than those immediately preceding it, but it is by no means one of stagnation.

On the whole we shall not be far wrong in crediting the Ming painters with industry and technical refinement rather than original genius, which indeed is hardly to be looked for in men who were chiefly bent on carrying on a tradition inherited from the Southern Sung school. That will not prevent us from bestowing whole-hearted admiration on such wonderful nature studies as The Tiger, by an anonymous artist, or the famous pair of ink-sketches depicting wild geese and rushes, by Lin Liang. These are in the British Museum collection.

Other noted painters are Tai Chin, whose 'copies of the old masters it was impossible, from the point of view of technique, to distinguish from the originals,' Tung Ch'i-ch'ang, a really great

EXQUISITE NATURE STUDY BY A MING ARTIST

Ming painters were refined rather than original; as may be gathered from the amount of copying from earlier masters done in the period. This, however, is but a generalization and must not be allowed to derogate from the genuine excellence of works such as this ink sketch of wild geese by Lin Liang.

British Museum

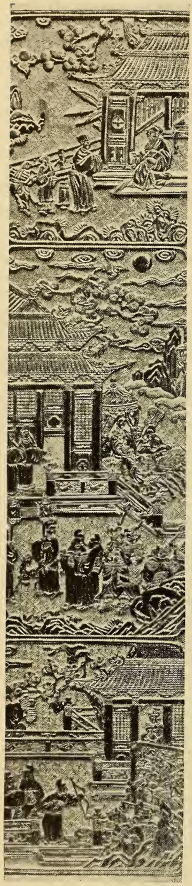
artist who hampered his own genius by excessive formalism, and Wên Chêng-ming, who went to the opposite extreme in 'refusing to be bound by any set rules.' Mention must here be made of the magnificent frescoes from a rock-temple in Shansi recently presented to the British nation by G. Eumorfopoulos. They probably belong to the late fourteenth century, yet the stately figures of Buddhist saints which they portray are instinct with the deep religious feeling which we are accustomed to associate with Sung art. Another fresco, perhaps two hundred years older, showing a group of three colossal figures, is pronounced by Laurence Binyon to be, in coloring as well as in design, 'the most august example of Chinese painting that has yet come to light.'

However great their achievements in pictorial art, it is generally agreed that the men of Ming were following in the footsteps of those whose achievements were even greater. It was otherwise in such branches of craftsmanship as porcelain, bronzes and lacquer work. In each of these, instead of a decline, there was a very notable revival. The bronze incense-burners made in the Hsüan Tê period (1426-35) are famous the world over for their graceful shapes and artistic decoration. The art of lacquer-making is believed to have originated in very early times, but in China itself it made less progress than in Japan, where it was brought to a high pitch of perfection. In the Ming dynasty a mission was sent to study the industry there,

A PARADE ON EARTH: FAIRY LANDSCAPE SEEN WITH THE ROMANTIC IMAGINATION OF A MING ARTIST

Ming landscape painting reveals some of its most characteristic qualities—a delicate and sometimes rather fantastic artificiality, a feeling for romance and a brilliant technique—in the untitled picture by an unknown artist, of which part is reproduced above. It apparently represents a scene of Taoist revels, perhaps on one of the islands of the blest, and so is known for identification as The Earthly Paradise. Note the lady steering a banqueting party on a floating island.

British Museum



CARVED LACQUER AND CLOISONNE ENAMEL

The art of enamelling, sometimes champlevé, more often cloisonné, seems to have reached China in the thirteenth century and by Ming times had attained the level of delicacy suggested by the incense burner above (Ching T'ai, 1450-56). Left: box lid in red and gold lacquer, an art that the period also brought to perfection.
Victoria and Albert Museum

and much beautiful work has since been turned out at various centers, especially Canton.

Cloisonné enamels were introduced by the Arabs, probably in the Yüan dynasty, being known to the Chinese as 'Byzantine incrusted work.' The best enamel work of the Ming dynasty produced in the middle of the fifteenth century, is said by Bushell to be 'characterized by a boldness of design and breadth of treatment combined with a striking depth and purity of coloring.'

Of all the artistic products of the dynasty, however, porcelain stands easily first. Pottery of a kind that approximates to true porcelain was made in the Later Han dynasty and, although complete specimens are wanting, we know that porcelain of fine quality was turned out by the T'ang potters. Discoveries have been made in Mesopotamia of fragments of celadon ware and white porcelain which can be definitely assigned to the ninth century. Of the Sung wares, described in glowing terms by Chinese connoisseurs, very little is known to survive, but they are broadly distinguished by their monochrome glazes (including flambés). There was no painted decoration, and all coloring was in glaze.

Decoration in different colors was a new departure first attempted by the Ming craftsmen. The method chiefly employed was painting under the glaze, that is to say, the colors were laid on the clay after baking, but before glazing. Enamels applied over the glaze and fixed by subsequent firings were also introduced, but this method reached perfection later. Shapes and designs were of inexhaustible variety. Not long ago only the coarser Ming wares suitable for export were known in Europe. Now it is realized that there were many qualities of porcelain too delicate to be transported over long distances, and it is on these especially that the high repute of Ming potters is based.

The Ming dynasty petered out somewhat ingloriously, though at the very end, when it was too late, a stubborn resistance was offered to the Manchu armies in the south. The growing weakness of the dynasty sprang from internal causes, and especially from the ascendancy acquired by the eunuchs, which surpassed anything known in the worst days of the Later Han. Eunuchs of great ability there were, no doubt, such as the adventurous Chêng Ho, but their influence in court circles was bound to be detrimental to the state. For two centuries mis-government was rife, and the efforts of the more conscientious statesmen were always liable to be paralyzed by the interference of these national pests.

Fortunately for the Mings, the safety of the state was not seriously threatened until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Rebellions occasionally broke out, but none on the scale of those that shook the Empire from end to end under the Han and T'ang dynasties. Nor had they to confront such powerful enemies as the Hsiung-nu, the Khitans or the Nü-chên; even the once-dreaded Mongols were but a shadow of their former selves, though they continued to harass the frontier at intervals.

The amazing success that attended the rise of the comparatively insignificant tribe of the Manchus, though due in part to the genius of their great chief Nurhachu, was only made possible by the corrupt government and internal dissensions of the Chinese themselves. With the resources at their disposal, the latter should not have found it difficult to ward off the attacks of a state which never possessed anything like the overwhelming might of the Mongol hordes under Jenghiz and his successors. This second loss of independence, however, cannot justly be accounted a misfortune for the Chinese people at large, since the Manchu

CANTON AS A LINK WITH EUROPE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Canton, the great city of southern China on the Chu-kiang or Pearl River, was the first port to see the arrival of European shipping (1516); the vessel was a Portuguese, and two years later trading relations were established. This engraving is from Jan Nicuhof's account (1669) of 'an Embassy from the East India Company of the United Provinces'; it shows Dutch craft surrounded by sampans in the river, and in the background the city with its two pagodas—that on the left being a mosque.

emperors included some of the greatest and wisest rulers that China has ever had.

An event fraught with even more momentous consequences was the first appearance of foreigners from the West. In 1516, a year before Luther began the Reformation in Europe, the first Portuguese vessel arrived in Canton, and twenty years later Macao was granted for a settlement, which the Portuguese hold to the present day. The Spaniards followed, but found it more convenient to settle in the Philippines. Thence tobacco is said to have been introduced into China in 1530, and it soon became so popular that the last Ming emperor, who was nearly contemporary with James I of England, issued an edict forbidding its use. Needless to say, the imperial prohibition had no more effect than the royal 'Counterblast,' and the tobacco plant is now cultivated in every part of the country. The English first landed on the coast of China in 1620, which is also the date of the Dutch occupation of Formosa. It must be admitted with regret that these first-comers from Europe gave the Chinese no very exalted idea of Christianity or Western civilization. They generally behaved like buccaneers of the lowest type, and were justly treated as such.

Very different was the conduct of the early Jesuit missionaries, mostly Spanish and Italian, who were the first foreigners to penetrate into the interior of China since the time of the Mongols. The indefatigable Francis Xavier, the apostle of Japan, died on the very threshold of the mysterious land which it was his ardent desire to convert to the Christian faith; but even if his life had been prolonged, it may be doubted whether his passionate zeal would have achieved so much as the quieter methods of his great co-religionist, Matteo Ricci, who reached Peking about fifty years later. Courteous, sympathetic and tactful, Ricci was an unfamiliar type of 'Western barbarian' that the Chinese could not but respect; and his keenness of intellect and very considerable scientific attainments assured him of a warm welcome amongst the educated classes of the capital, whose admiration for learning outweighed their instinctive distrust of new-fangled religions.

The account of his travels through China, which was edited after his death by Trigault, and which appeared in 1616 in a French version entitled 'Histoire de l'expédition chrétienne au royaume de la Chine,' shows an almost uncanny degree of insight into every department of Chinese life. Ricci's example inspired his fellows to continue his work on the lines he had laid down, and if the Christianization of China has proved after all to be but an idle dream, it is certain that no blame for the failure can be imputed to the Jesuits of the seventeenth century.

THE SPIRIT OF THE ELIZABETHANS

AN OUTBURST OF EXUBERANT ADVENTURE BY LAND AND OCEAN AND IN THE REALMS OF THOUGHT

By J. B. BLACK

Professor of History, University of Aberdeen; Author of The Art of History, Elizabeth and Henry IV, Elizabethan Society, etc.

For the plain man as well as for the historian, the Age of Elizabeth has always had a peculiar, an irresistible charm. Touched by the last dying splendors of the Middle Ages, and at the same time lit up by the dawning light of the modern epoch, it figures in the imagination as some twilight world, where men are magnified into gods, and the whole drama of fate and circumstance is cast in an ampler and more elemental mould than at any period in English history. Our very words betray us when we allude to it; for we speak in parable and metaphor, as of something that partially escapes our grasp. 'Halcyon times,' 'spacious days,' 'the golden age' fall from our lips unbidden; or we murmur the glowing words of Shakespeare's John of Gaunt:

This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
This other Eden, demi-paradise,
This blessèd plot, this earth, this realm, this England.

It may be that in all this we are the victims of an illusion, intoxicated with the pomp and majesty that cling like a garment to the Elizabethans. Nevertheless one thing seems certain. It would be hard to match the Elizabethan Age in the whole range of history for brilliant deeds, heroic and luminous thoughts or commanding personalities. As the glittering procession passes before us—soldiers, sailors, courtiers, statesmen, poets and gallants—we bow our heads in wonder that such a galaxy of talent should assemble itself within the confines of a single reign. 'Observe,' writes Fuller, 'how God set up a generation of military men, both by sea and land, which began and expired with the reign of Queen Elizabeth, like a suit of clothes made for her and worn out with her.' Better words could hardly be found. We might well exclaim with Lord Howard of Effingham, 'God send us to see such a company again when need is!'

Historically considered, the England of the late sixteenth century was the product of the impact upon English life of two mighty energizing forces: the reformation of religion, and the revival of letters. Each in its own way had begun to stir men's minds more than half a century earlier; but, by the time which we are

FAMOUS ELIZABETHAN STATESMAN

William Cecil (1520-1598), created Lord Burghley in 1571, was chief minister and most trusted adviser to Queen Elizabeth from 1572, and until his death labored tirelessly in his country's behalf. This portrait was probably by Marcus Gheeraedts.

National Portrait Gallery, London

GORGEOUS COSTUMES OF THE NOBILITY IN ELIZABETH'S REIGN

The care lavished on fine clothes by the Elizabethans is well illustrated in these pictures of various aristocratic personalities of the time. Top: Queen Elizabeth, magnificently gowned, proceeds in a litter borne by six knights to the wedding of Lord Herbert and Miss Anne Russell, accompanied by the bridal party (part of engraving by Scharf). Bottom left: Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick. Bottom right: the countess of Pembroke in a richly ornamented gown decorated with exquisite lace.

From the 'Archaeological Journal' (top), and Wallace Collection and National Portrait Gallery, London

now considering, such a volume of criticism and creative energy had been set free as England had never before witnessed. Old landmarks were swept away as by a flood, and the face of the country was fast changing out of recognition. From the decay of Roman Catholicism arose a Protestant state church, which rallied to itself, as time went on, the patriotism of the age, and became, in a sense, the emblem of the new epoch. From the literary stimulus, working on contemporary life, sprang that glorious and unforgettable sunburst of imagination and intellect, which the poetry of Spenser, the drama of Marlowe and Shakespeare and the philosophy of Bacon reflect like polished mirrors to all succeeding generations. Above all, a new national consciousness was born, portentous in energy, varied in form and infinite in ambition.

In short, it was the men of Elizabeth's day who, with 'prophetic soul dreaming on things to come,' first traced before the wondering eyes of their contemporaries the shadowy outline of Imperial Britain. They staked out a claim to world power, which their successors prosecuted triumphantly.

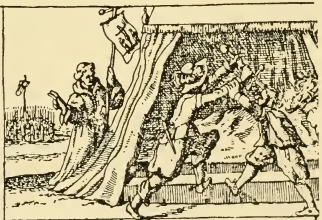
The same spirit also pervaded the economic sphere. Here the Age of Elizabeth witnessed something akin to a revolution in the scope and organization of manufacture and commerce, in the use of massed capital and in the character and distribution of the national wealth. Economic activities were now liberated which have dominated English history for centuries. Never before had individual initiative won so instant a recognition or so rich a reward.

Let us first of all try to picture the general attitude of mind of the Elizabethans as members of a political community. It was a period, we say, of great turmoil in religious matters, when Puritan struggled with Catholic, and Catholic with Puritan, and the government repressed both in order to maintain the state church. The striking fact is that, in spite of the tremendous upheaval caused by the religious changes of the time, and the world-shaking controversies that they occasioned, very little of this ferment found its way into the 'street.'

The mass of men in the sixteenth century, like the mass of men in all ages, had

Babington with his Complices

Stucely encouraged by P: & K: of Sp: rayseth rebell



Desmonds bloody practise approued

POPISH PLOTS AGAINST ELIZABETH'S LIFE AND RELIGION

These small prints engraved by Cornelius Danckwerts illustrate the dangers menacing Elizabeth; after her excommunication by Pius V in 1570, she was constantly threatened by Jesuit conspiracies. Top: Sir Anthony Babington addresses his accomplices; he planned the assassination of Elizabeth and the substitution of Mary. Bottom left: Philip II of Spain and the pope encourage Stucley's rebellion. Right: the earl of Desmond, with papal approval, murders Irish Protestants.

little interest in theology or politics, and the little they had was spectacular rather than critical. Schisms and plots, Puritan or Jesuit, might keep statesmen like Burghley and Walsingham awake o' nights, trouble the hard-worked bishops, or drive the queen into paroxysms of hysteria—these commotions in the council chamber or the royal boudoir were looked upon as the inevitable afflictions of crowned heads, and of the solemn-visaged men to

PATRIOTIC ENGLISH JESUIT

Edmund Campion was executed in 1581 for his ministrations to Roman Catholics, then forbidden to practise their religion. To the end he avowed his loyalty to Queen Elizabeth. This is a partly allegorical engraving by Lerch.
British Museum

whom Providence had committed the task of piloting the ship of state into port. They seldom perplexed the mind or darkened the path of the plain man. He, good fellow, was content to take his beliefs on trust from his superiors. His politics may therefore be summed up in the single word 'patriotism.' Patriotism, in fact, was the universal religion of the age, the mainspring of action, the very air that everyone breathed.

Nor was it a common type of patriotism that actuated the Elizabethans, generated in moments of crisis only. It was a glowing social force always in action, compassing both Catholic and Protestant, and sweeping into its bosom even those whom the law condemned. For example, when the boldest of Puritans, John Stubbs, was subjected to the barbarous punishment of having his right hand chopped off by a butcher's cleaver for writing a pamphlet against the proposed marriage of the queen to the Catholic duke of Anjou (1584), he suffered the torture placidly; and then, amid the tense silence of the crowd, raised his hat with his left hand and cried 'God save the Queen!' Clearly Stubb's patriotism was a stronger thing than his puritanism.

Of course, this devotion of all classes to the crown was not the result merely of chivalrous sentiment playing on the fact that the crown was worn by a woman. It was due to the very efficient manner in which the queen secured the conditions for a full and free expansion of the creative energies of the nation. Under her wise rule England enjoyed a generation of almost unbroken peace, external and internal, stretching from the commencement of the reign to the outbreak of the war with Spain in 1585. And during this lull the prosperity of the industrial and commercial classes grew by leaps and bounds. Activity begat self-reliance, and self-reliance begat a feeling of optimism and of superiority over all other peoples.

The pope might launch his thunderbolts—or, in the violent phrase of the time, 'spit and curse his fill'—against the queen: he could not interfere with the steady march of economic forces. Like 'foolish Balaam,' to whom Bishop Jewel ventured to compare him in 1570, his cursing was turned to blessing, and 'the more he cursed the more England prospered.' 'Thanks be to God,' wrote the worthy bishop, 'never was it better in worldly peace, in health of body, and in abundance of corn and victuals.'

But the Elizabethans had many other qualities besides patriotism. First and foremost, stress must be laid on the fact that they were a mundane people, intensely absorbed in the outward things of sense—the lust of the eye and the pride of life. Watch them as they sun themselves in the public eye at the theater, S. Paul's Church and the Bear Garden, and it will be apparent that in each case the atmosphere is the same—'of the earth earthy.'

Contemporary records tell us that S. Paul's, like most churches of the period, had suffered greatly from the desecration and sacrilege accompanying the Reformation. In Elizabeth's day it had become 'a house of talking, of walking, of brawling, of minstrelsy, of hawks, and of dogs.' The middle aisle, commonly known as Paul's Walk, was the scene of a veritable pandemonium. Here the gallants and the idle gentlewomen of the city met to exchange favors. Here, too, came the hawkers and the riff-raff of the streets. In one corner stood the lawyers at their 'pillars' to receive clients, while in another shopkeepers exposed their wares for sale and indulged freely in their various street cries. Even the tombs and the font were used as counters for the payment and receipt of accounts. 'Lordless men' paraded the nave offering their services for hire. And, to increase the din and confusion, horses and mules were led through the Cathedral as a short cut, littering the place with the filth of the streets.

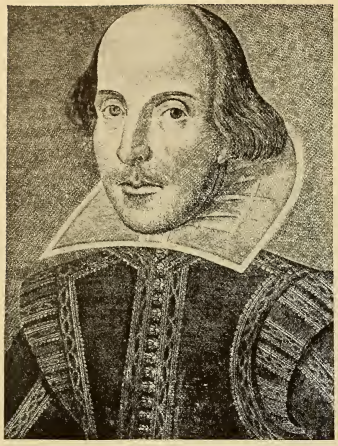
Outside, in the churchyard, was the book market of London, where as many as twenty bookstalls clustered up against the walls. Apparently the enterprising booksellers used the vaults of the sacred building to store their superfluous literature. Thus, under the very eyes of the clerical authorities, the 'merry books of Italy' were bought and sold, and in all probability it was in this very market that Shakespeare purchased the Italian romances on which he based so many of his plays. Such, then, was S. Paul's in the heyday of the Renaissance: it partook of a fair or market ministering to the widespread demand for amusement, publicity and social diversion.

S. PAUL'S A PUBLIC THOROUGHFARE

This engraving by Hollar shows the nave of old S. Paul's in majestic solitude. In Elizabeth's day it was the resort of all men for mundane purposes. It was the place where the pedlar hawked his wares, the idle gossiped and the pugnacious brawled. In 1666 the cathedral was destroyed by the Great Fire.

From Dugdale, 'History of St. Paul's Cathedral'

In the theater, of course, the mundane spirit of the age attained its most acute expression. What attracted the Elizabethan populace to the theater? We are sometimes invited to consider the high artistic value of a Shakespearean play, and to marvel at the dizzy heights of appreciation to which the audiences at the Globe, Swan and Blackfriars could rise when witnessing a play like Hamlet or Romeo and Juliet. But we should remember that Shakespearean drama was far above the habitual level of the contemporary dramatic productions. The Elizabethan play often staged scenes that would revolt a modern audience—scenes portraying madness, drunkenness, vice and brutality, that appear to us to be no fit subject for art at all. Yet this must have been a considerable attraction to the apprentices, mechanics and artisans who



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

This portrait of England's much loved dramatist can claim to be one of the best real likenesses that exist. It was engraved by Martin Droeshout on the publication of the first folio edition of the plays in the year 1623.

Photo, W. F. Mansell

filled the 'pit.' The obvious fact is that the popularity of the stage lay in its direct appeal to the senses. Just as it was the 'rough and tumble' at the Bear Garden in Southwark that delighted the onlookers—the 'clawing, roaring, tugging, tossing and tumbling' of the bears, and the 'nimbleness' of the dogs; so, too, it was the vehemence of the action, the licence of expression and sentiment, the brilliant declamation and the fine dresses of the actors that charmed the playgoers. Philip Stubbes, the Puritan, was not very wide of the mark, in spite of his bitterness, when he wrote the following passage:

> The substance of tragedies is anger, wrath, cruelty, incest, murder: the persons and actors are gods, goddesses, furies, fiends, hags, kings, queens, and potentates. Of comedies the matter and substance is love, cosinage, flattery, adultery: the persons or agents, queens, scullions, knaves, courtesans, lecherous old men, and amorous young men.

Perhaps the real trouble was not so much the theater itself as its accompaniments. It was a kind of safety-valve through which all the pent-up 'humors' of society found expression—a place where the individual could throw off restraint and gratify his appetites to the full.

The prevailing moral and intellectual tone of this picturesque society was, as we should expect, singularly free and vigorous. No heed was paid to the accepted standards of the past, nor was much heed paid to the admonitions of the moralist and the preacher. If the pulpit was studiously ignored in its efforts to stem the tide of immorality and blasphemy, the lay critics were pilloried by the wits as vain fools.

VIEW OF THE BANKSIDE, SOUTHWARK, IN SHAKESPEARE'S TIME

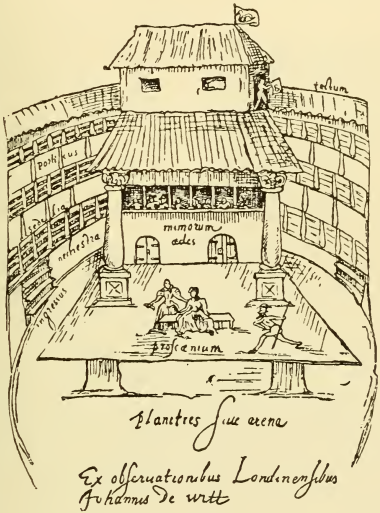
This view of Southwark in the year of Shakespeare's death is taken from a panoramic picture of London engraved by Visscher in 1616. It shows the Globe Theatre, an octagonal wooden structure, so famous for its association with the great dramatist. Burnt down in 1613, it was rebuilt and finally pulled down in 1644. This district bordering the river was then known as Bankside, and the picture shows the Bear Garden where men indulged in the sport of bear and bull baiting.

British Museum

It was not merely in the matter of their thought that the Elizabethans were unrestrained and licentious; the form was equally free. There is probably no parallel in any literature to the wild cataract of words that churns its way through the pages of the pamphleteers of the age, like a Niagara in flood. Nothing seems to check the verbal riot in its impetuous course save the sheer exhaustion of the writer. Indeed, it would appear as if the prose writers, like a pack of sophisticated schoolboys, took a naïve delight in playing with words—in marshalling them, telling them off in battalions, brigades, divisions, and flinging them with deafening clamor against real and imaginary enemies.

Frequently they lose control over the forces they have mustered, and are swept away on the turbid tide of their own eloquence. Some of them, finding the draught horse of prose too slow for their turbulent fancy, mounted the Pegasus of poetry and soared away into the spacious realms of pure imagination. In fact, it is seriously to be doubted whether prose was the chief medium of literary expression in the age of Elizabeth, and not poetry. But whatever the precise form may have been, it had the same lack of restraint, the same irrepressible exuberance, the same intense egoism and the same magnificent contempt for rules, conventions and standards.

One other general feature of the period remains to be noted. It was a time when the darkness of the unknown began rapidly to recede before the torch of the discoverer, when barriers were falling on all sides, and the horizons of human life, physical and mental, were expanding at an unprecedented rate. Science, moreover, was still slumbering in its infancy, unable to cope with one tithe of the new revelations flooding in upon the mind. Credulity reigned supreme—nothing was too startling to be believed; and the eye of the half-awakened intellect, dazed by excess of light, could only blink and wonder at the riches and variety of the world.



HOME OF THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

Great enthusiasm for the drama was a prominent feature of the Elizabethan age. This plan of the octagonal Old Swan Theatre, London, opened in 1598, is the facsimile of a drawing in the library of Utrecht University.

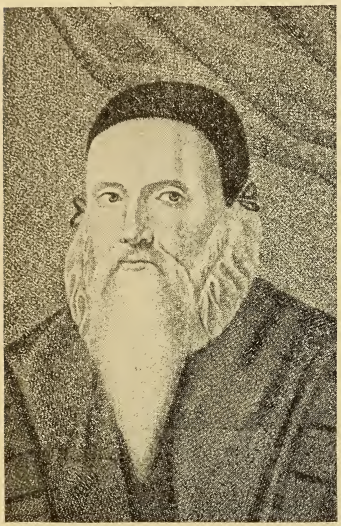
From Jusserand, 'The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare'

An exuberant, mundane people, delighting in the outward things of sense, carrying self-expression to the point of licence, could not be content to live in the old hovels or wear the old-fashioned garb of the Middle Ages. The new wine had to be decanted into new bottles. Hence we find that, side by side with the intellectual renaissance, there took place a rennaissance in the realms of dress, social custom and the whole material environment of life, no less wonderful than that which characterized the realm of spirit.

According to contemporary writers it was shortly after the beginning of Elizabeth's reign when the change became evident. But so completely did it accomplish its work that, within a generation, there were virtually no traces left of the Middle Ages. London had become an

Italian Renaissance city—gay, pleasure-loving, gorgeously dressed, fond of bright colors and lavish in its expenditure on all manner of luxury.

The drama and other literature of the period are full of references to the lighter side of the human comedy; to the ploughman who discarded his old russet coat of homespun in favor of the new-fangled, tailor-made 'doublet with wide cuts,' in



SUMMONER OF SPIRITS

In an age fraught with superstition Dr. John Dee (1527-1608), mathematician and necromancer, experimented in alchemy and sorcery and was frequently consulted by Elizabeth. He was thought to hold converse with the devil.

Engraving by Schencker

order 'to meet his Sis on Sunday'; to the farmer who sold his stock at Easter for a trunk of London hose; to the peasant girl, who must have her 'French hood'; and to the hundreds of would-be gallants, 'court-nolls' and 'accomplished gentlemen' who 'drowned themselves in the mercer's book' for the sake of being clad in a pair of velvet breeches. There are references also to the darker side of the carnival—to the hapless folk who beggared themselves, or fell into the hands of the usurer and ended their days in a debtor's prison. But, on the whole, the note of comedy prevails. Apparently nothing was too outlandish to be worn; the fashions of all nations were laid under contribution 'to piece out the pride of the Englishman.'

The women of Elizabethan London were naturally no less intoxicated with the 'mounting conceit' of the age than the men. The gallants may have dressed like popinjays; the feminine mind clamored for still more wonderful and bizarre effects. Strutting about like the Venetian ladies, in the heyday of their glory, on 'chopines,' which lifted them 'a finger's breadth' above the mire of the street, the fashionable dames wore the stiff, pointed corsage and outrageously inflated skirt of the farthingale, and round their necks enormous ruffs. The general effect of the farthingale was so grotesque that a woman clad in one appeared to be 'no woman at all' but 'a puppet or mawmet of rags and clouts compact together'; or, in still more expressive phrase, 'a trussed chicken set upon a bell.' As for the ruff, that 'stately arch' of Elizabethan pride, it enjoyed a frail and precarious existence. In fine weather it was impressive to the last degree; in a shower it hung invertebrate about the neck 'like the dishclout of a slut.'

And now we come, after this consideration of the 'poetry of dress,' to the question which, no doubt, the reader has already asked himself. Did not all this effeminate attention to outward appearance betoken a softening of the fiber of the race? Many serious-minded critics of the time clearly believed it did, for they wrote melancholy jeremiads about the passing of the good old days, when simple dress and simple living proved to the world the virtue and valor of Englishmen.

Nevertheless, the critics were wrong. In spite of the lamentations there was no softening of the national fiber.

It is remarkable that virtually every man who walked the streets of London, from the age of eighteen and upwards, bore some kind of lethal weapon by his side—a sword, a rapier, a dagger, possibly both rapier and dagger. 'Desperate cutters,' we are told, carried two daggers or two rapiers, 'wherewith in drunken fury they are known to work much mischief.'

Even the poor laboring man in the country had his protective weapons by his side, except when actually working in the fields, when he laid them down in a convenient corner. Apprentices, too, had their knives, parsons their 'hangers' and ladies their bodkins. It appears to have been the tendency for swords and daggers to grow steadily longer—the greater the gallant the bigger his ruff and the longer his weapon. So much was this so that, in 1580, the government was compelled to limit the length of swords and daggers by proclamation, and to station officials at street corners to break the weapons of those who contravened the law.

Street fighting in Elizabethan London must have been a fairly common occurrence and a serious menace to public order, for the swashbuckler of those days was prepared to throw away his life for a comparatively trivial matter. The pages of Romeo and Juliet show him in action. It does not seem, then, that the fastidiousness and flummery of the Elizabethans exercised much softening effect on their characters. Life was held cheap in the sixteenth century on land as well as on the sea.

But if we would fully grasp the spirit of the period we must turn from the somewhat artificial life of the capital, and cultivate the society of that gay company of hard-bitten men whose deeds by sea and by land are immortalized in the pages of Richard Hakluyt's Voyages.

Courage is a virtue to which no people can lay an exclusive claim, for every nation has its heroes and its sacred tradition of honor. But there are times when the

FROLIC AND FINERY AT AN ELIZABETHAN MARRIAGE FETE

Musicians and dancers at this Bermondsey wedding watch the bridal procession coming out of church while a crowd of guests, gaily clad in costumes of about 1590, prepare to make merry and actually to dance at the wedding of their friends. The Tower can be seen in the distance; and part of the land in the foreground, if, as is likely, it belongs to the manor of Sir Thomas Pope, still exists as an open recreation ground. The picture was painted by the Dutchman, Joris Hoefnagel.

Courtesy of the Rt. Hon. the Marquess of Salisbury

spirit of adventure, parent of all manly virtue, seems to run riot, and risks are taken with an easy gaiety that thrills the imagination. Of such a character was the age of Elizabeth. To the men of that time as to the Greeks and the Venetians, the sea was the pathway to glory and self-realization, the inspiration of their genius, the passionate motive of their highest endeavor. And what a goddess she was, how fickle in her favors, how exacting in her service! Drake battling with tropical tornados and 'the blind Horn's hate,' Frobisher tussling with the ice and fog of the Arctic, Gilbert braving the surge of a north Atlantic gale in the tiny Squirrel, or Raleigh threading his way through the primeval jungle and uncharted labyrinth of the Orinoco delta, are instances, and not the most enthralling instances, of the thousand dangers, privations and sacrifices to which the willing

ENGLISHMAN'S QUANDARY

Fashion enslaved both the men and women of Elizabeth's day. This old woodcut caricatures the frequent changes in its depiction of a naked Englishman, armed with shears and a roll of cloth, wondering what he shall wear next.

From Stubbes, 'Anatomy of Abuses' (New Shakespeare Society)

ECCENTRICITIES AND EXAGGERATIONS OF ELIZABETHAN FASHION

The craze for bizarre costumes which infected the men and women of Elizabethan times is abundantly indicated by the figures shown in these old woodcuts. The gallant on the left wears the ridiculous bombasted breeches then fashionable and a befeathered hat; his companion has a wired ruff and wheel farthingale. Next to her is Gabriel Harvey as caricatured by Nashe. Many of these woodcuts illustrated popular ballads, and Elizabeth (right), with ruff and hoops, was frequently represented.

From Stubbes, 'Anatomy of Abuses' (New Shakespeare Society)

MONKEYS LAUNDERING ELIZABETHAN RUFFS

A few minutes' exposure to the rain and the stately ruff became a limp, pitiful object. The introduction of starch by a Dutch lady in 1564 solved the stiffening problem, and this satirical engraving by Crispin de Passe, a portrayal of monkeys engaged in starching ruffs, is a forcible reminder that constant labor was required to follow the all-prevailing fashion.
British Museum

votaries were daily and hourly summoned.

And while we commemorate the dazzling exploits of the great, we must not forget the noble company of unnumbered heroes who missed fame only by a hair's breadth —men of Yarmouth and Devon who, when the service required it, fed on putrid penguin, drank bilge-water, and all too frequently left their bones to moulder in foreign parts.

Nor must we forget the travelers by land, the merchants and agents of companies, who, for the sake of commerce, ventured into the little-known Asiatic continent. They, too, had their risks, their heroisms and their martyrdoms, their successes and failures, although their object was only to find new markets and sell their goods to the heathen. Through the rigors of Russia and the deserts of Turkistan, to Persia and India, they passed with their bales of English cloth, reaping a precarious profit, of which the uncertainties of the journey and the rapacity of potentates threatened at every point to deprive them. Altogether, an indomitable breed of men, who traveled and trafficked with arms in their hands, and were prepared when challenged to give a good account of themselves.

Lastly, the men of war, who made fighting the business of their lives and plucked fame as lightly as a bauble from the very cannon's mouth. It would require a chapter in itself to recount the epic of their exploits on the high seas and on the coasts of Spain and America. Their inexhaustible resource and swift decisions, their plunderings and burnings, their infinite daring and fine courage, were laced like a strangulating cord about the throat of the Spanish monarchy.

When the Age of Discovery began, Europeans were filled with a great fantasy of imagining and speculation concerning Asia. Visions of 'earthly Paradises' and 'fountains of eternal youth'—the fruit of century-old travelers' tales and medieval dreaming—hovered vaguely in the background of the mind; while in the foreground was spread a gorgeous panorama of golden splendor, glittering gems and far-fetched spices, the wealth and beauty of the East awaiting her spoiler. All this appealed to the spirit of adventure and the longing for new experiences which characterized the period of the Renaissance.

It also appealed, in a more vivid and practical way, to the prevalent greed for gold and the desire for commercial gain. Here indeed was the dominant motive, the unifying element, the one touch of nature which established a kinship throughout the whole fraternity of adventurers. So rapid had been the progress that when at last, in the mid-sixteenth century, England awoke to the vastness of the issues involved, the bulk of the sharing out had taken place, and the richest lands of the earth were in the hands of the two Iberian monarchies. There remained only one area whose possibilities as an avenue to the East had still to be explored—the frozen north.

VELVET AND CLOTH DISPUTE

The title page to Greene's Quip for an Upstart Courtier, 1592, represents the contrast between the conceit of contemporary times and the simplicity of the past. The upstart in velvet is shown disputing with the honest man in cloth.

To this comparatively uninviting task English adventurers were now summoned to dedicate their lives; and they responded to the summons with an ardor no less impetuous than the Spaniard and Portuguese had shown in more equable latitudes. If the prospect was dreary, they could console themselves with the thought that Providence had assigned them a geographical position eminently favorable for its accomplishment. Moreover, it was by no means certain that the lands bordering on the northern seas of the world would prove to be less productive in windfalls such as America had given the Spaniards.

It seemed reasonable, at this time, to suppose that, just as a way had been discovered to China, India and the Spice Islands by sailing south, so also there might be a route to the same goal, hitherto concealed among the northern mists, through the seas that washed the coasts of North America and Siberia. Geographers were of opinion that such a passage existed and that it was navigable.

The discrepancy between theory and reality, always considerable, was in this case enormous; but the 'urge' was undeniable, and one cannot but be thrilled at the spectacle of so unequal a contest with nature. In tiny ships, no bigger than large-sized fishing smacks, ignorant of prevailing currents and winds, amid uncharted seas, exposed to the unheard-of perils of ice and fog, often bewildered as to their whereabouts and blinded by snow-storms, the helpless and weary mariners, exhausted by cold, starvation and constant vigils, would often have preferred to abandon their ships rather than face the terrors of the quest. Still the struggle went on, and the first stage of the journey was mapped out.

The effort to open a passage eastwards to Cathay (China) by the North Cape was begun in the reign of Mary and continued by the Elizabethans. The first attempt, made by Sir Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor (1553), ended in Willoughby's death on the desolate Kola peninsula, the discovery of the White Sea by Chancellor, and the beginning of trade

relations between England and Russia. The second expedition, under Stephen Burrough (1556), skirted the Kanin peninsula and the island of Kolgiev, and reached the Bay of Petchora, Nova Zembla and the island of Vaigatz; but here it turned back owing to impenetrable ice, fog and contrary winds at the entrance to the Kara Sea.

Then came the great enterprise of Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman (1580), who battled their way past Vaigatz a short distance into the Kara Sea towards the river Ob; but were eventually compelled to beat a retreat by the same obstacles that had defeated their predecessors. It was the last attempt. Clearly the northeast passage was beyond the feeble technique and defective equipment of the sixteenth-century sailor. Its successful negotiation had to be left to a later generation with a more scientific knowledge.

Meanwhile the lure of the north-west, made popular by a powerful pamphlet (1574) from the pen of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, had begun to draw attention to the waters north of Labrador—an era which English explorers have made peculiarly their own. Gilbert's views were scholarly, reasonable and well argued. He had mastered every aspect of the subject, and collected every scrap of information bearing upon it, in ancient as well as modern writers; and the treatise in which he divulged his ideas is a prominent landmark in the history of exploration. Suffice it to say that it was on the strength of these ideas that Martin Frobisher and John Davis ventured forth in the 'seventies and 'eighties to break the icy barrier and to plant the English flag on the barren coasts of North America and Greenland.

And now what of the concurrent and well-sustained effort of intrepid landsmen to reach India overland? The first expedition to the north-east, as we have seen, had taken place in Mary Tudor's reign, and had resulted in the opening up of the Russian Empire, then almost unknown in the West, to English traders. Thus, by a happy chance, a way was discovered whereby the traveler by land could penetrate into the heart of Asia via the great rivers of Russia, the Caspian Sea and the lands beyond the Caspian. In the reign of Elizabeth, accordingly, we find intrepid and resourceful travellers like Anthony Jenkinson making their way,

DRESS OF MIDDLE-CLASS WOMEN

The Elizabethan middle-class women naturally could not afford to wear such a profusion of ornament as the nobility. They were, however, earnest in following fashion. This group from a Dutch description of the British Isles shows three burgher women and a country woman clad in such costumes as Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor must have worn.

British Museum, Additional MS., 28,330

often at considerable risk, down the Volga to Astrakhan, thence across the treeless deserts of Turkistan, to the Oxus and Bokhara; or, in a more southerly direction, to the cities of old Persia—Tabriz, Teheran and Kasbin.

These expeditions had, of course, an immediate economic object, and their result was a great extension of England's cloth trade, the discovery of new dyestuffs and an increased appetite for a further share in the lucrative traffic that fattened the purses of Portuguese and Venetian merchants. But the crowning adventure into the East by land was to come in 1583. In that year a small company of Englishmen, led by John Newberie and Ralph Fitch, made their way to Joppa by sea, crossed the Lebanon mountains to Aleppo, the great market of the Near East, and joined a caravan setting out for the Euphrates. Down this river they sailed in primitive goat-skin boats, past Bagdad and the ruins of Babylon to Basra, the Persian Gulf and Ormuz. Their experiences are recorded by Hakluyt and read like an excerpt from the pages of the Arabian Nights.

From Ormuz they made their way, on a Portuguese vessel, to Goa, where the viceroy of the Portuguese Indies resided, and there they were thrown into prison as spies. Escaping through the good offices of an English Jesuit, they picked their way across India to Golconda and, finally, reached the court of the Great Mogul at Agra, where Newberie presented a letter of credence which he bore from Queen Elizabeth. The prime object of the mission was now accomplished, and the little party broke up and dispersed. The leader set out on a perilous journey through the Punjab to Constantinople, promising to return in two years' time with a ship to Bengal. A second member of the expedition remained in Agra as a servant of the emperor. And a third, Fitch, whose appetite for adventure seems to have been merely whetted by his experiences, pursued his way alone down the Jumna and the Ganges to Bengal, from Bengal to Pegu (Burma), and from Pegu to Malacca near the Straits of that name.

Eventually he returned to Bengal, and after waiting in vain for Newberie, whose fate is unknown, took ship for Goa; and so, after nine years of wandering in the East, arrived back in England by approximately the same route as that by which he had set out. From many points of view he had accomplished the most remarkable journey of the epoch. Above all, he had opened up communications with the Far East and set up a landmark

GOSSIP AT THE MARKET

This market scene is part of a large woodcut ascribed to the last year of Elizabeth's reign. The whole is entitled 'Tittle Tattle; or, the Several Branches of Gossiping.' In every case a group of women is shown busily engaged in talking. Woman in this respect has changed but little throughout ensuing ages.

in the evolution of England's relations with India.

Of the gentlemen adventurers of the age much might be said. We shall bring this record of exploit to a close with a brief reference to the careers of the two best known and most widely famous. As soldiers, explorers, promoters of colonies, as theorisers and dreamers, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, stand in the very forefront of their time, and touch their world at all points. A restless imagination, backed by a boundless ambition and the 'will to achieve,' whatever the cost, hounded both on to conceiving the most daring schemes; and at the same time a strange wilfulness of temper, irritability and impatience dogged their enterprises and turned them into tragic failures. Yet, in spite of the incompleteness and futility, time has invested their careers with a glamour which few others possess. They are remembered not so much for what they did or failed to do, as for the spirit in which they did it. Above all, if they lacked the secret of success in life, they knew how to die.

Gilbert is famous, as we have seen, for his spirited championship of the search for a north-west passage: he gave purpose and intensity to the onslaught on the Arctic. But he is more famous because he was the first Elizabethan to crystallize the floating schemes for planting colonies in America, and to put the matter to the proof of practical experiment. Fortified by a royal charter and a grant of the most extensive privileges in the event of success, he set out in 1583 to extend English sovereignty over the American seaboard, and to organize the first English overseas dependency.

For a time all went well. The flag was unfurled in Newfoundland, the limits were traced of a vigorous and flourishing community, and the country was explored and charted. But there the success ended and disaster began. When he left Newfoundland to carry out the second part of the enterprise, which involved the carving out of similar settlements along the coast between Nova Scotia and Florida, he got no farther than Sable Island (off Cape Breton). Here he lost his principal ship, the Delight, together with all his maps and plans, and the minerals he had collected as a basis for future operations, and was compelled to turn homeward, a broken-hearted man. The episode of his death in mid-Atlantic is one of those rare

ALLEGORY OF ENGLAND'S NAVAL PROWESS

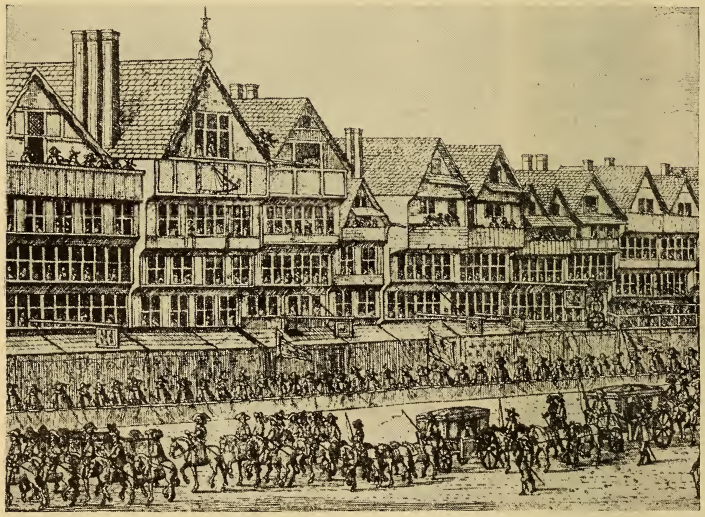
This beautiful specimen of early English engraving illustrates the veneration of English sailors for Queen Elizabeth, here shown steering her ship towards the Tower of Safety. Victory holds out a laurel wreath to the queen, and the advancing ships are protected by an angel with a flaming sword.

From John Dee, 'Arte of Navigation,' 1577

epitaphs which occasionally show the moral triumph of a great character over the brutal realities of a pitiless universe.

So far as Raleigh was concerned, the great adventure was simply the least striking of his many failures. He passed on to meet his fate in a more grandiloquent fashion and in a different field. For years he had brooded over the fantastic tales of an Eldorado hidden away among the inaccessible swamps and forests of Guiana—tales currently believed by the Spaniards, and well fitted to capture Raleigh's sensitive imagination.

From dreaming and theorizing Raleigh proceeded to action, and in 1595 he led an exploratory expedition up the Orinoco. Forcing his way in open wherry boats through the labyrinth of the delta, he reached the frontiers of the mystical kingdom, and collected sufficient proofs, as he thought, to justify a second attempt. The results of this amazing episode are contained in his pamphlet, The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Beautiful Empire of Guiana. But the effort to convert the queen, or to command any influential body of opinion in favor of the enterprise, was without result. Only after years of waiting, and a period of incarceration in the Tower, was he permitted at last to renew the scheme. But by this time the Spaniard was forewarned and ready for him on the Orinoco: conflict was unavoidable; and Raleigh, after the loss of his son in a skirmish with the Spaniards, reluctantly withdrew. When he returned to England the pusillanimous King James I sacrificed him to his enemies. Raleigh expiated his ambitions and his dreams on the scaffold; and with him perished the last vestiges of the Elizabethan spirit.



LONDON AS IT APPEARED IN ELIZABETHAN TIMES——

This representation of Cheapside is from a folio of 1639 by de la Serre, and illustrates the entry of Marie de' Medici into London on her visit in 1638. Although the incident took place a generation after Elizabeth's death, this picture is the best in existence of Cheapside as it probably appeared in Elizabethan times. The view shows nearly the whole of Cheapside and part of the Poultry. In front of the fine houses of wealthy merchants on the north members of City Companies line the way.

From 'Entrée Royalle de la Reyne-mère dans Londres'——

We have long since discarded the notion that the golden age of the world lies in the past: if we place it anywhere, it is in the distant and problematic future.

For all its intellectual and imaginative brilliance, its pomp and circumstance, its heroic enterprise, the age of Elizabeth was certainly no golden age. The beauty and culture we so much admire in it flourished, like some exotic plant, over a vast morass of social misery and suffering. Apart from the crowds of sturdy rogues and vagabonds who shambled along the roads, robbing and murdering, and were trussed up by the law or whipped 'till bloody,' and placed in 'houses of correction,' there were thousands of impotent poor whose sufferings the rough-handed sympathy of the law could with difficulty alleviate. Of these unfortunates the contemporary critics speak with compassion, and with bitter comment on the callousness of the well-to-do, who could, but would not, help. 'A poor man,' says Greene, 'will as soon break his neck as his fast at a rich man's door.' 'They lie in the streets,' writes Stubbes of the poor of London, 'upon pallets of straw, and well if they have that, or else in the dirt, as commonly it is seen, having neither house to put their heads in, covering to keep them from the cold nor to hide their shame withal . . . but are permitted to die in the streets like dogs or beasts without any mercy or compassion showed to them at all.'

The age was a hard and cruel one, and human life was cheaply held on land and sea. Even the men who fought the battles of their country received but a poor and niggardly recompense. It is to be wondered at that the pauper met with

——WHEN CHEAPSIDE WAS A RENDEZVOUS OF FASHION

Cheapside was a fashionable place in Elizabeth's day. It was a center for markets and tourneys, and the strolling ground of young gallants and fair ladies. The south side of the street is cut away in the picture, but it contained at this time some of the finest houses in London. Part of the Nag's Head Inn (extreme right) appears, distinguished by its 'bush beyond its sign'; and near it the successor to the original Eleanor Cross and (actually somewhat misplaced) the 'Great Conduit' can be seen.

——*Facsimile in Harrison, 'Description of England,' edited by F. J. Furnivall*

EXPLORERS WHO TYPIFY THE ADVENTUROUS SPIRIT OF ELIZABETHAN SEAMEN

Neither Sir Hugh Willoughby (left) nor Sir Martin Frobisher (right) was successful in achieving his main objects, but both exemplify the courage and love of adventure that characterized the Elizabethan mariners. Willoughby sought to discover a north-east passage to Cathay (China); he failed, but the voyage led to trade with Russia. Frobisher, unsuccessful in his quest for a north-west passage, is remembered for the gallant part he played in the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Wollaton Hall, courtesy of Lord Middleton, and Bodleian Library, Oxford

severity? Perhaps the root of the trouble lay in the fact that the old medieval idea of charity had perished with the monasteries, while the modern idea of state alleviation of poverty was still in the experimental stage. In any case the facts show that the Elizabethan Englishman cannot be credited with a soft or discerning heart towards his less fortunate brethren. The poor were a nuisance and poverty a disease, for which, in the inscrutable providence of God, he was not responsible.

TABLE OF DATES FOR CHRONICLE XXV

A.D.

1598 Peace of Vervins; Edict of Nantes.
1599 India: Akbar in the Deccan.
1600 Henry IV m. Marie de' Medici.
Charter of London East India Company.
1603 Elizabeth d.; acc. James I (and VI). Union of English and Scottish crowns.
Japan: Iyeyasu shogun; founding of the Takugawa Shogunate.
1604 Sweden: Charles IX crowned.
1605 India: Akbar d.; acc. Jehangir.
French settle at Port Royal, Nova Scotia.
Don Quixote published.
1607 America: English settlement under Virginia charter; Champlain at Quebec.
1608 Rudolf transfers Hungary and Austria to Matthias.
1609 Netherlands: Dutch and Spaniards make twelve years' truce.
1610 Henry IV assassinated; acc. Louis XIII; regency of Marie de' Medici; revival of the Huguenot conflicts.
Maximilian of Bavaria forms German Catholic League of counteract the Protestant Union.
1611 Englishmen favored in Japan (Will Adams).
Sweden: acc. Gustavus Adolphus.
1613 Russian "interregnum" ended by election of Michael Romanov, founding dynasty.
Elizabeth, dr. of James I, m. Frederick, elector palatine.
1614 France: States-General called; not again summoned for 175 years.
Japan: Iyeyasu expels Christians.
1615 India: Embassy of Sir T. Roe to Jehangir.
1616 China: Nurhachu proclaims himself emperor; official beginning of Manchu dynasty.
Japan: Iyeyasu d.; Hidetada shogun.
1617 Bohemian diet acknowledges succession of Ferdinand of Carinthia.
1618 "Defenestration" of Prague begins the Thirty Years' War.
The elector of Brandenburg inherits Polish duchy of East Prussia.
1620 Bohemian War, German Protestants aloof. Maximilian brings in League army, under Tilly; defeat of Frederick at White Mountains.
Voyage of Mayflower; the "Pilgrim Fathers."
1621 Protestantism stamped out in Bohemia.
Spaniards from Netherlands in Lower Palatinate. Dutch War renewed.
1622 Maximilian in Upper Palatinate. Mansfeld and Christian of Brunswick (or Halberstadt) command for Frederick.
Japan: Shogunate of Iyemitsu.
1623 Palatinate conferred on Maximilian. Breach between England and Spain.
1624 Richelieu at head of Louis XIII's ministry.
James I negotiates with France, Sweden and Denmark for intervention.
1625 Futile English expedition to Netherlands. James I d.; acc. Charles I.
Christian IV of Denmark heads Protestant coalition; Saxony and Brandenburg out.
Maurice of Nassau d.; Frederick stadtholder.
Gustavus and Sigismund at war.
1626 Wahenstein raises independent army for the emperor. Mansfeld d. Christian IV defeated by Tilly at Lutter.
America: Peter Minuit founds Dutch settlement of Nieuw Amsterdam on Manhattan Island.
1627 Richelieu lays siege to Huguenots in La Rochelle; futile relief expedition.
India: Shah Jehan succeeds Jehangir.
1628 Fall of La Rochelle; Buckingham assassinated.
Wallenstein fails to take Stralsund.
China: Acc. Chung Cheng, last Ming emperor.

A.D.

1629 Denmark retires; Peace of Lübeck; Ferdinand, urged by Maximilian, issues edict of Restitution.
Richelieu ends Huguenot conflict and helps to negotiate treaty of Altmark between Poland and Sweden.
1630 Landing of Gustavus at Usedom; dismissal of Wallenstein; neutrality of Brandenburg and Saxony.
1631 Fall and sack of Magdeburg; Saxony and Brandenburg join Gustavus, who defeats Tilly at Breitenfeld. His triumph necessitates recall of Wallenstein.
1632 Lützen; d. of Gustavus, retreat of Wallenstein; Christian q. of Sweden; Oxenstierna rules.
1634 Wallenstein assassinated; defeat of Bernard at Nördlingen.
1635 Peace of Prague. Saxony and Brandenburg join imperialists. France declares war on Spain.
Japan: Iyemitsu completes reforms, closes Japan to Europeans.
1638 Louis XIV b. Bernard conquers Alsace.
1639 Bernard d. France retains Alsace.
Fort St. George (Madras) granted to E.I.C.
1640 Frederick William, the "Great Elector," succeeds George William in Brandenburg. He makes peace with Swedes.
England: the Long Parliament meets.
Portugal revolts from Spain, John of Braganza king. War of independence.
1642 Richelieu d.
English Civil War begins.
Galileo d. Isaac Newton b.
1643 Louis XIII d.; acc. Louis XIV. Anne of Austria regent; Mazarin first minister.
1644 China: Chung Cheng, the last Ming, d. Manchu or Ching dynasty established.
Christina assumes control in Sweden.
Descartes' Principia.
1645 War of Candia (Turkey and Venice) begins.
England: decisive defeat of Royalists at Naseby.
1648 Treaty of Münster; Dutch independence.
Treaties of Westphalia end Thirty Years' War.
Civil war of the Fronde begins in France.
William II of Orange stadtholder.
1649 England: Commonwealth; Charles I beheaded.
Poland: Acc. John Casimir.
1652 Two years' naval war, England and Holland.
1653 Cromwell Lord Protector in England.
1654 Sweden: Christina abdicates; acc. Charles X.
Holland: John de Witt Grand Pensionary. House of Orange excluded from stadtholdership.
1655 Cromwell attacks Spain in West Indies.
1656 Mohammed Kiuprili grand wazir; vigorous Turkish reorganization.
Pascal's Lettres Provinciales.
1657 Brandenburg acquires Prussia.
Charles X invades Denmark.
1658 Cromwell's troops with Turenne in Netherlands.
Cromwell d. Break up of Commonwealth government.
Truce between Sweden and Denmark.
India: Aurangzib deposes Shah Jehan. Rise of the Maratha leader Sivaji.
1659 Peace of the Pyrenees ends Franco-Spanish war.
1660 Charles X d.; acc. Charles XI. Sweden under control of an oligarchy. Frederick III establishes absolutism in Denmark.
Treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen end Baltic war.
Mazarin retires; Louis XIV m. Maria Teresa (Spanish infanta) and assumes control of French government.
England recalls Charles II; the Restoration.

RELIGIOUS WARS AND NEW WORLD SETTLEMENT: 1598—1660

For forty-two years the somber figure of Philip II of Spain had overshadowed Europe.

He came to the throne ambitious to dominate an enfeebled and divided Europe and to wipe out heresy; he had at his disposal vast fleets, the armies of Spain, the wealth of the Netherlands, the riches of America, the commerce (after his annexation of the Portuguese crown) of the East Indies. He was enormously self-confident, infinitely laborious, hampered by no inconvenient scruples of honor, generosity or even natural affection. But he died with every one of his ambitions defeated, the might of Spain hopelessly sapped, her fleets at the mercy of the northern maritime powers, her trade monopolies collapsing, the United Provinces of the Netherlands irretrievably lost, though their independence was not yet acknowledged, and Protestantism, wherever it had taken root, more firmly established than before. When Philip died, Spain was no longer the dominant power. The part she was to play in the future was, even at its best, secondary.

In the sixty-two years which are covered in this chapter it was only the shrewdest of statesmen that realized that the menace of a European domination centered not in Madrid but in a Hapsburg consolidation with its focus at Vienna.

Our main interest, then, will be concentrated upon France and Germany, with Germany as the stage, but with Sweden intervening in a very remarkable episode during which her king became the central figure of the European drama. Great Britain was for the most part too deeply engaged in a drama of her own to intervene with effect in Continental affairs.

It is Great Britain, however, that demands our first attention, because her development at this period, though immediately it distracted her from European politics, vitally affected her future influence. The death of the great Queen Elizabeth in 1603 called to the throne of England the Scots king, James VI, in virtue of his descent from the elder daughter of Henry VIII, who had married James IV of Scotland just one hundred years before. The crowns of two kingdoms which had been intermittently hostile and never on terms of solid friendship for centuries were united, never again to be separated, though for some time their separation was a possibility in the background. The two countries remained separate kingdoms with separate legislatures and administrations, but while they remained under one crown they could not go to war with each other, nor take opposite sides in foreign wars, nor make antagonistic treaties.

The accession in England of the king of Scots had a further powerful effect on the constitutional development of both countries, though another century was to pass before the incorporating union. The Scots parliament possessed no such powers as the English parliament, and the Scots king wholly misunderstood the relations between the latter and his Tudor predecessors. Since he claimed that the English parliament enjoyed such powers and privileges as it possessed entirely by the king's grace, friction arose, especially as to the royal rights of taxation and control of religion. Also, both king and country still believed in the power of Spain, but to the king she was a power to be conciliated, to the country she was an irreconcilable foe to England and to Protestantism, to be fought at every available opportunity.

The antagonism between crown and parliament only became more acute when in 1625 the easily-frightened James was succeeded by his obstinate son, Charles I. Neither side would abate its claims; the king, unable to obtain supplies from parliament, could take no part in foreign complications when he tried to rule without calling a parliament (1629-40). In

1642 the great civil war broke out. After three years Charles was decisively defeated; in 1648 the army which had defeated him resolved that he must die, and in the following January he was beheaded. What remained, by leave of the army, of the parliament which had been sitting since 1642 put down rebellions against its authority and reorganized the navy; but when it attempted to convert itself into a permanent oligarchy, Cromwell, with the army behind him, ejected it and became in effect a military dictator for five years (1653-58).

The chaos that followed his death was ended only by the restoration of Charles II in 1660 on terms which definitely fixed the income of the crown at a figure very far short of the amount required for the government's normal peace expenditure. All additional expenditure must be met by taxation, which could only be imposed with the express consent of parliament.

FIRST KING OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

The accession to the throne of England in 1603 of James of Scotland united the two countries under one crown. The full-length portrait in the royal collection, after which this was engraved by J. Smith, was painted by Van Dyck during his visit to England, 1620-1621, when the king was about 55.

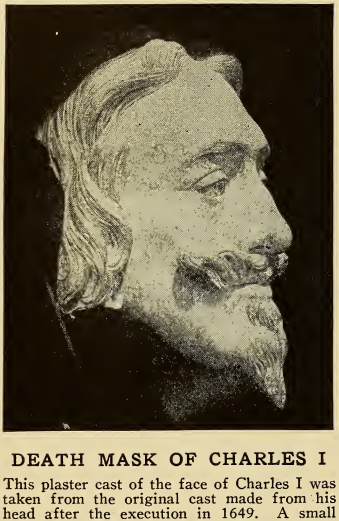
British Museum

For twelve years after the making of peace with Spain at the treaty of Vervins and of the religious peace in France by the Edict of Nantes, Henry IV, the first of the Bourbon kings, was reorganizing the government of France on the lines which were to make his grandson Louis XIV the most absolute of monarchs and France herself the leader of Europe. By the Edict, France remained a Catholic state but gave toleration to the Huguenots. And though the national religion was Catholic, France had taken exception to certain of the decrees of the Council of Trent, so that the Gallican church still claimed a degree of independence of the papal authority, although this was coupled with dependence on the crown.

After a long period of something like chronic civil war, a king who had been obliged to fight hard for the crown which was legitimately his necessarily made it a first object to gather power into his own hands. Like the ablest of his predecessors, Henry employed in administrative offices, wherever possible, not powerful nobles but middle-class officials with a professional training whose interest was to serve him faithfully and win his favor and confidence. In England the obstacle to the concentration of power in the hands of the king lay in the claims of the commons to control supply; in France it lay in the privileges of the higher nobility. By employing commoners, Henry placed no powers in the

hands of the commons as a body, while he withdrew power from the nobles as individual magnates with common class interests.

The second need—the religious question being settled—was for financial reorganization, with the double object of developing the national wealth and refilling a treasury depleted by the drain of the recent wars and by continuous



DEATH MASK OF CHARLES I

This plaster cast of the face of Charles I was taken from the original cast made from his head after the execution in 1649. A small number of these casts were distributed among his intimate personal friends.

London Museum

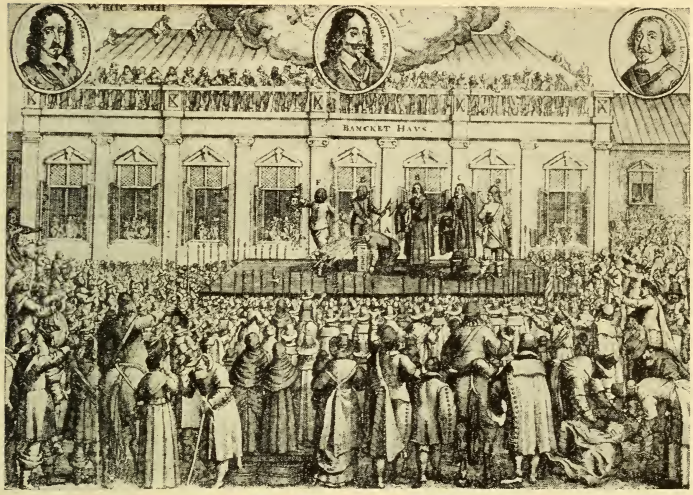
maladministration. This was mainly the work of Sully, who was Henry's right-hand man. A rigid economy, a rigorous supervision, a strict selection of agents who could be trusted and realized that dishonesty would be dangerous, the development of industries and the partial removal of the tolls which fettered internal trade, enabled Sully to pay off the debt in twelve years and, in spite of diminished taxation, to raise an annual revenue exceeding the annual expenditure in normal times.

Henry was probably the one statesman of the day who realized the actual weakness of Spain and the potential power of a Germany united under the Austrian Hapsburgs and allied with the Spanish Hapsburgs. If such a combination should be brought about, France, facing Germany on the east and Spain on the south, would be between the upper and nether millstones. A primary condition, however, of such a Hapsburg consolidation would be the suppression of German Protestantism.

It was therefore Henry's policy to foster, in German Protestant states particularly, a fear of the revival of aggressive Hapsburg Catholicism, and to persuade them to look to Catholic but tolerant France as the champion of toleration. A league of Protestant powers with Catholic France at its head could not be aggressively Protestant, and would be a guarantee of European peace—besides being very useful to France as a check on the Hapsburgs and as increasing her own international influence.

Henry's diplomacy was working to bring about the league of his vision when Rudolf helped him by a palpable attempt to get the succession to Juliers, Cleves and other western principalities into his own hands. It was just such an opportunity as Henry wanted; his plans were formed, and he was on the very verge of armed intervention when he was assassinated by the fanatic Ravaillac (1610). The whole scheme collapsed, the newly formed confederacy crumbled, and France was left to the regency of his queen, Marie de' Medici, the mother of the new nine-year-old king, Louis XIII.

For the next fifteen years France counted in Europe no more than England under the "Scottish Solomon," who suffered from an ineradicable conviction that his neighbors would listen to reason when they had arms in their hands and he had none. The promptitude of a Catholic faction, supported by the Paris Parlement, secured the French regency to the queen mother, Henry having made no arrangements to ensure the continuity of his policy when he should not be there to direct it. Marie was a Catholic partisan in the hands of Catholic partisans; Sully in despair retired from public life; Protestant alliances were the last thing desired by the regent, for whom Henry's conception of the Hapsburg menace meant nothing, and France was once more the prey of factions.



EXECUTION OF KING CHARLES I AT WHITEHALL

This nearly contemporary engraving by Sebastian Furck depicts the decapitation of Charles I in front of the Banqueting Hall, Whitehall, January 30, 1649. Bishop Juxon attended the king, and upon the scaffold besides the executioner and his assistant were Colonels Hacker and Tomlinson. "The blow I saw given," Philip Henry, an eye-witness, wrote, "at the instant whereof there was such a grone by the Thousands present as I never heard before and desire I may never hear again."

British Museum

As the young king grew up he tried to get the reins out of his mother's hands into his own; it was not till 1622 that he succeeded, and in taking over the government took over also the services of the mighty minister Richelieu, the bishop of Luçon, who had very recently joined the queen. This was not a desertion on Richelieu's part. He had no concern with factions; his policy was the policy of Henry—to suppress factions, establish toleration, strengthen the crown and make France the first power in Europe. To that end he had joined the de facto government of Marie, and to that end he remained in the new de facto government of the king. But effective intervention in Europe, plunged by this time into the Thirty Years' War, was impossible until the domestic troubles of France should be brought under control. He set himself to accomplish this with the energy of a born administrator.

SPAIN'S maritime war with England continued after the death of Philip II, mainly in the form of the raids of English adventurers on Spanish commerce, until the accession of James I in England, when peace was made; the new king making it his business to conciliate the power which he still dreaded. The United Provinces continued their struggle for independence under the leadership of William the Silent's son Maurice of Nassau, whose brilliant abilities were taxed to the utmost by the skill of the Spanish general Spinola. The southern provinces of the Netherlands did not make common cause with the Protestant provinces of the north; but the Netherlands were now practically cut off from Spain, and in 1609 Philip III (1598-1621) made with the United Provinces a truce for eleven years. Although their independence was not therein formally recognized, and after the truce lapsed the attempt at

A TOLERANT MONARCH

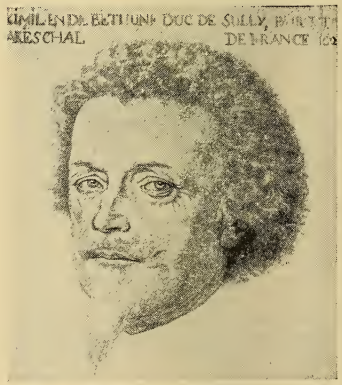
Henry IV, first of the Bourbon line in France, granted toleration to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes (1598). He began the reorganization of the French government and the anti-Hapsburg policy later pursued by Richelieu.

Painting by Pourbus, the Louvre; photo, Giraudon

reconquest was renewed, yet the Dutch Republic was from that time a sovereign state, ruled by Maurice as "stadtholder" till his death in 1625, when he was succeeded in that office by his brother Frederick Henry (1625-47).

During these years Sweden, Poland and Russia were engaged in constant conflicts. Sigismund, king of Poland and Sweden, having vainly tried to recover Sweden for Catholicism, had in 1598 to leave the country in the hands of his uncle, who seized the Swedish crown as Charles IX in 1604, having the nation behind him. Charles was succeeded by Gustavus Adolphus (1611-32), the "Lion of the North," Sigismund also dying in 1632. In Russia the last ruler of the house of Rurik, Feodor, the son of Ivan the Terrible, had died in 1598, when the crown was seized by his brother-in-law Boris Godunov. Sigismund, hoping to gain ascendancy in Russia, had supported a pretender to the Russian throne, Dmitri, who by his aid overturned Boris in 1605. Next year a rival pretender displaced Dmitri by the aid of Charles of Sweden, who had no mind to see Sigismund dominating Russia. In 1610 he in turn was displaced, and Sigismund made his own son tsar, while Charles put up his own younger son as a rival candidate. Then Charles died, his successor Gustavus was involved in a war with Denmark, and the Russian nobles, sick of foreign claimants, elected Michael I, the first tsar of the house of Romanov (1613), though it was only by making considerable territorial concessions both to Sweden and to Poland that he was able to procure his own recognition, and peace with both countries, in 1617.

Since Sigismund still regarded Gustavus as a usurper, war again broke out between the two in 1620 for the possession of Esthonia and Livonia, continuing till Richelieu's diplomacy brought it to an



GREAT FRENCH MINISTER

Sully (1560-1641), appointed superintendent of finances of France in 1597, was Henry IV's principal adviser. He reformed financial abuses, lightened taxes, maintained the country's defenses and fostered agriculture.

Drawing by Moustier, the Louvre; photo Giraudon

end by the treaty of Altmark in 1629, which released Gustavus to play his brilliant and brief part in the Thirty Years' War.

Here also we may note an event the importance of which was not immediately obvious. Prussia had until 1525 been in possession of the Order of Teutonic Knights. In that year the last grand master, Albert of Hohenzollern, received the duchy of East Prussia as a fief held of the Polish monarchy; his son succeeded him as duke and lived till 1618; he had no male issue, but his eldest daughter was the wife of the head of the house of Hohenzollern, John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg; and the Polish duchy of East Prussia, lying outside the Empire altogether, passed to the Brandenburg electors, who took the title of king of Prussia in 1701.

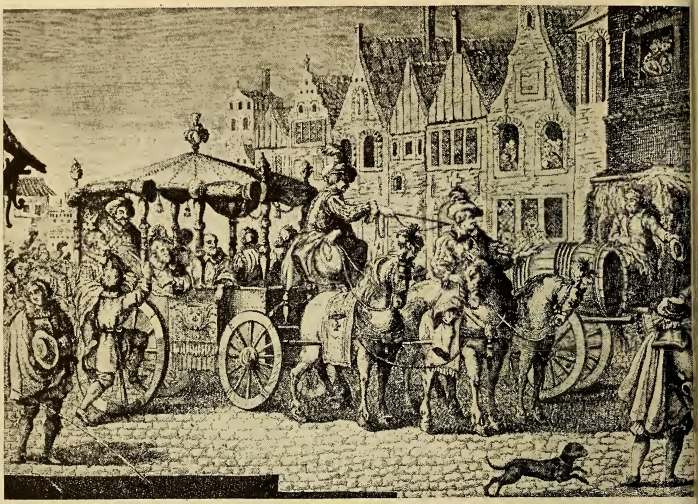
The actual storm center of Europe was the Empire, which had been only on the fringe of the main political movements among the western powers since the death of Charles V. The pacification of Passau and the treaty of Augsburg (1555) had provided a modus vivendi for the still hostile religions, and the emperors had abstained from aggressive attempts to gather increased authority into their own hands. The many princes, lay or ecclesiastical, were practically independent rulers in their own lands, raising their own troops and levying their own taxes.

The pacification held as a modus vivendi, because Protestants and Catholics were fairly equal in the chamber of princes, and apart from Bohemia there were three Protestant lay electors and three Catholic ecclesiastical electors. But the balance would obviously be upset by changes of religion among the princes. One thing was perfectly clear: if the Hapsburgs deserted the attitude of neutrality and became partisans on either side, trouble was certain to ensue.

Now, when the seventeenth century opened, the emperor Rudolf and his nephew Ferdinand of Carinthia both very clearly intended to repress Protestantism within their own dominions. The emperor's brother Matthias, on the other hand, as yet stood for the former Hapsburg policy of toleration. Ferdinand was successful; Rudolf failed both in Hungary and Bohemia, which were outside the Empire and did not come under the pacification. The Bohemians were the descendants of the Hussites, and Protestantism had taken strong root in Hungary. In 1606 Hungary revolted against Rudolf, Matthias associated himself with the rebels, and in 1608 Rudolf had to make over Hungary to his brother, who established complete toleration. At the same time the Bohemian estates took the opportunity of Rudolf's embarrassments to extort from him the "Charter of Majesty" which secured freedom of worship, and at the same time forbade the erection of new churches or religious establishments with-

PRINCE CHARLES AT THE GRINDSTONE

This broadside of 1651 satirizes the conditions exacted from young Prince Charles by the Scottish Presbyterians, before they offered him the crown in 1650. Presbyterianism, so strong a force in Scotland, is personified holding the young king's nose to the grindstone, while "Jockie" turns the handle.



ASSASSINATION IN PARIS OF HENRY IV BY FRANCOIS RAVAILLAC

On May 14, 1610, Henry IV of France set out in an open coach to visit Sully at the Arsenal. In the rue de la Ferronnerie the coach was brought to a stop by an obstructing hay wagon, and François Ravaillac, a visionary fanatic, seized the opportunity to spring at the king, who was reading a letter, and stab him just above the heart, severing the aorta. The assassination, which excited profound grief throughout France, is graphically depicted in this contemporary print.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from "Histoire de France," Hachette

out leave of the local magnate. Rudolf proving restive, Matthias was crowned in his place. Next year (1612) Rudolf died, and Matthias was elected emperor. It appeared that there would be an imperial reversion to the policy of toleration.

The Hungarian and Bohemian troubles had arisen at the moment when Rudolf had involved himself in complications in the western parts of the Empire. In 1608 Christian of Anhalt had drawn together the union of the Rhineland Protestants, mostly Calvinist, headed by the elector palatine, primarily for defense against aggression, which there was reason enough to anticipate, on the part of Rudolf and the zealous Catholic Maximilian of Bavaria, who countered by drawing together a Catholic League for the protection of Catholic rights, in 1610. Meanwhile the succession to Cleves and Juliers was contested between the Protestant houses of Brandenburg and Neuburg; and Rudolf's intervention with the obvious intention of getting those principalities under Catholic control enabled Henry IV to form that wide Protestant league under his own leadership, whose armies he was on the point of heading when he was struck down by Ravaillac, with the results we have already seen.

In 1612, then, Matthias was king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, and emperor. He had, as we have seen, a record as a tolerationist, and he did not openly depart from it. But he was advanced in years, he and his surviving brothers were childless, and he desired the entire Hapsburg inheritance to pass intact to the one representative of the house in the next generation, his nephew Ferdinand. As concerned the German provinces, the agreement of his brothers was easily secured. Hungary acquiescently elected Ferdinand.

The difficulty was in Bohemia. Matthias himself was accused of evading the Charter of Majesty; the rigor with which Ferdinand had suppressed Protestantism

in his own dominions was notorious. Left to themselves, the Bohemians would certainly claim the right of electing Matthias' successor, and would elect not the aggressive Catholic Ferdinand but someone definitely Protestant, possibly the young elector palatine Frederick, whose wife was the lovely daughter of the king of England. So the emperor's agents startled the Hungarian diet in 1617 by announcing that the Bohemian succession was not elective but hereditary; Matthias himself had succeeded without formal election. The diet, having no answer ready for this unlooked-for proposition, was tricked or coerced into assenting, and Ferdinand as the hereditary successor of the reigning king was at once acknowledged and crowned.

MARIE DE' MEDICI

Rubens painted this portrait of Marie de' Medici, who became regent for her son, Louis XIII, in 1610. She reversed her husband's anti-Hapsburg policy and arranged a marriage for Louis XIII with Anne of Austria.

Prado, Madrid; photo, Anderson

LOUIS XIII IN BOYHOOD

From a spoiled child Louis XIII of France (1601-43) developed into a weak, though not uncourageous man. He was a puppet in the hands of his mother during her regency, and in later years was eclipsed by Richelieu.

Uffizi Gallery, Florence; photo, Alinari

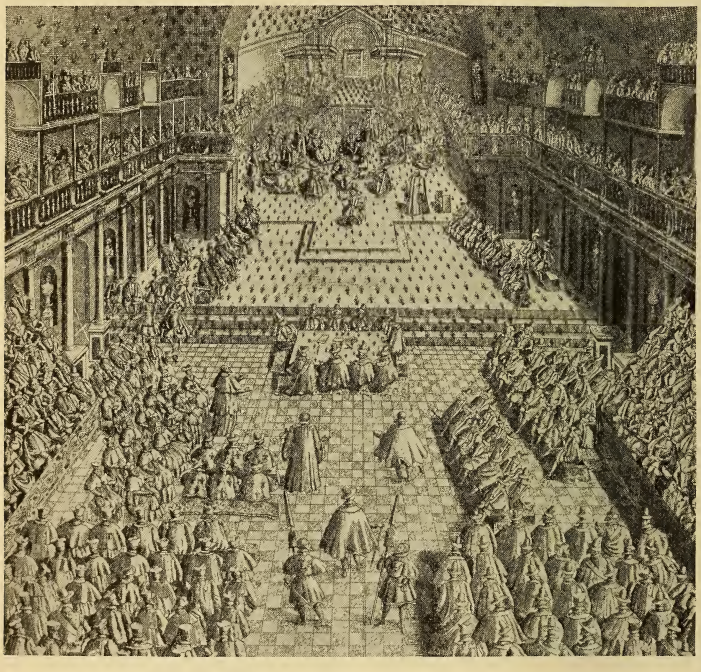
Ferdinand swore to observe the Charter, but left the administration in the hands of a regency. When it was too late, the opposition nobles, headed by Count Thurn, protested against the whole of the proceedings. Matthias ignored the protest, and on May 23, 1618, Thurn and his friends entered Prague in arms, hunted out the regents and pitched them out of a top-story window into the dry moat seventy feet below.

If the Bohemian nobles and people had faced Ferdinand with spirit, the few half-hearted troops ready to take the field in the king's service could have done little enough against them; but they had no plans, no organization and no inclination for self-sacrifice. They would have collapsed if they had not been reinforced by troops under the adventurer Count Mansfeld, released from his service by Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, who hoped to deal

a blow to the Hapsburgs without himself taking the stage. Mansfeld was supposed to be in the service of the elector palatine, to whom the Bohemian nobles were about to offer their crown. Frederick, however, promised the rebels the support of the Protestant Union if Bavaria or other princes should come to the support of Ferdinand.

Frederick's ambitions were aroused by the prospect of gaining the Bohemian crown, which was offered to him by the rebels. The idea was repugnant to the Lutheran princes, for it would raise a Calvinist to the position of the most powerful among them, with a double vote in the electoral chamber. Acceptance might be regarded as a breach of the imperial constitution. His father-in-law in England had only condemnation for the project.

In March, 1619, Matthias died. No alternative candidate could be agreed upon, and on August 28 Ferdinand was unanimously elected emperor. The day before, Frederick had been formally elected king of Bohemia. A month later he accepted the election and in November



THE STATES-GENERAL OF FRANCE IN PLENARY SESSION

Marie de' Medici summoned the States-General in 1614. It held its meetings in the great hall of the Hôtel du Petit-Bourbon, as shown in this contemporary print, the opening session taking place on October 14. The convocation was barren of results, for although the clergy were reasonably accommodating, the differences between the nobility and the third estate proved irreconcilable. The three estates presented their memorials to the king on February 23, 1615, and the Assembly was dismissed.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; from Larousse "Histoire de France illustrée"

was crowned in state at Prague. No one would move in his support. Bethlen Gabor, of Transylvania, who had at first joined himself with the Bohemians, found that he could extract more satisfactory terms from Ferdinand than from his allies, and made his peace. Just twelve months after his coronation, the "Winter King's" forces were shattered by the imperial general Tilly at the White Hill close to Prague, and Frederick and his wife were seeking an asylum with Maurice of Nassau at The Hague.

When Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown and took up arms against the emperor, the war became not merely a Bohemian but an imperial war. It was time for Maximilian of Bavaria to intervene. He brought the forces of his Catholic League into action; Tilly was the League's officer, and the troops at the White Hill were mainly the League's troops. The Protestant Union armed itself, but otherwise it awaited events. Frederick's rash action drove the zealous constitutionalist John George to the emperor's side; Frederick, as King James also held, was manifestly in the wrong. Spain, however, had already joined with Ferdinand, and Spanish troops from the Netherlands were overrunning the Lower or Rhenish Palatinate, which was separated widely from the Upper Palatinate bordering on Bavaria. Maximilian meant to have the Upper Palatinate for himself, with the electoral honors transferred from the Palatinate to Bavaria.

Frederick was put to the "ban of the empire," in other words, outlawed for treason. Maximilian occupied the Palatinate, while the Bohemian rebels were relentlessly crushed, their estates forfeited, and their leaders put to death. The eleven years' truce between Spain and the Dutch lapsed, and the renewal of the Dutch war withdrew Spanish troops to the Netherlands. The cause of Frederick was defended only by the adventurers Ernst, Count von Mansfeld, and Christian of Halberstadt, with their mercenaries, who maintained themselves by plundering friends as ruthlessly as foes.

The imperialists then were sweeping the board, and their success was alarming, going far beyond the legitimate suppression of the Bohemian revolt and the adequate penalization of Frederick.

The French intervention was never intended to be active, and the English intervention was a mere fiasco. James died at the beginning of 1625, and Charles I was immediately involved in a paralyzing conflict with a parliament which was willing enough for a Spanish war, but took no interest in the restora-

"THE LION OF THE NORTH"

This portrait is from the original painting by Van Dyck of Gustavus Adolphus (1594-1632) of Sweden, Protestant leader in the Thirty Years' War. One of the greatest captains of history, he died in the hour of victory at Lützen.

Pinakothek, Munich; photo, Brückmann A.G.

tion of the king's brother-in-law in the Palatinate, and would vote no supplies so long as Charles's favorite Buckingham remained in power. France was too deeply engaged with domestic troubles for a militant foreign policy. Christian of Denmark put up a fairly creditable fight for two years. But the determining factor was the appearance of Wallenstein.

Albrecht von Wallenstein was a Bohemian noble who had fought on the imperial side in the Bohemian war. He had acquired vast wealth by marriage. He offered to raise a volunteer army under his own command, and that offer Ferdinand accepted. His volunteer army

ARCHITECT OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY

The main aim of Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642), here painted by Philippe de Champaigne, was the aggrandizement of France. His diplomacy was successful in crushing the nobles and Huguenots who threatened the monarchy, and he intervened with effect on the Protestant side in the Thirty Years' War.

The Louvre; photo Mansell

serious failure before Stralsund, which could not be blockaded on the sea side and defied storming on the land side. In 1629 this phase of the war ended with the treaty of Lübeck, which appeared to satisfy the claims of those Lutherans and Calvinists who had abstained from active hostilities. Yet even at the moment when the peace was made its whole value was shattered by a colossal blunder on the part of Ferdinand, who, at the instigation of Maximilian, issued the fatal Edict of Restitution, requiring the restoration to the Church of all lands secularized since 1552, when the previous secularizations had been confirmed by the Passau pacification. A fresh outbreak was inevitable; no one was ready to surrender secularized lands.

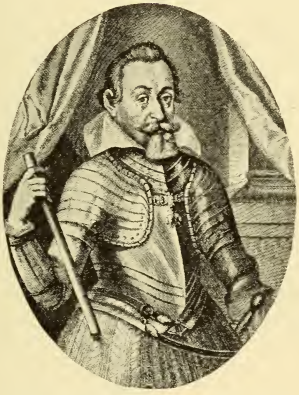
In fact, the real question of the moment in Germany was whether Maximilian and his League or Wallenstein was to hold the ascendancy with Ferdinand. Maximilian and Ferdinand were both bent on the suppression of Protestantism. Wallenstein's aim was purely political; he was indifferent on the religions—there were almost as many Protestants as Catholics in his armies—but he meant to create a supreme army owing allegiance to no one but the emperor and the emperor's general and right-hand man, Albert of Wallenstein. Thus would the central imperial authority be firmly established, but only on the basis of toleration, not on the domination of one group. What the next stage might be was another matter.

The League could not possibly rec-

was an army of mercenaries who were ready to sell their swords to any captain and any cause, to serve with entire fidelity according to the established mercenary code of honor, and to change sides without compunction the instant that the agreed period of service was at an end. Such an army, organized and led by such a general, was an instrument of war more formidable in the field and hardly less desolating in its movements than any which had yet made its appearance.

In 1627 Christian was driven off the field; next year Wallenstein made his one

oncile itself to his aims, which meant the subordination of the princes to the emperor and the abandonment of their own primary aim. Ferdinand had to choose between the imperial project and the religious project; he could not get both, and when he followed the lead of Maximilian he definitely alienated Wallenstein. A year after Lübeck, Wallenstein was dismissed, to await the day when the emperor should be forced to recall him. A month before his dismissal Gustavus of Sweden landed at Usedom on the Baltic.



MAXIMILIAN OF BAVARIA

Maximilian I (1573-1651), elector and duke of Bavaria, played an important part in the foundation of the Catholic League in 1610. This portrait is from an engraving by Wolfgang Kilian dated 1620, showing him at the age of 47.

THE intervention of Gustavus as the Protestant hero of the day was largely the work of a statesman who certainly was not a Protestant hero, Cardinal Richelieu. Since 1624 he had been all-powerful with King Louis. In one of its aspects, the faction fighting in France of the previous years had resolved itself into a conflict between the always Catholic government and the Huguenot nobles, the latter striving not so much for religious liberty as for political independence. The center of their resistance to the government forces was La Rochelle, which heroically endured a long siege, but was at last starved into surrender by the completeness of the blockade, in contrast to the failure of Wallenstein before Stralsund in the same year (October, 1628). The Huguenots continued the struggle in the south, but it had now become hopeless. They surrendered in the following year. The Huguenots as Huguenots ceased to be a danger to the royal government.

Richelieu all through had a definite policy—to keep Germany from consolidation, to extend France to her "natural" boundary, the Rhine, at the expense of Spain and of the Empire, and to establish a footing in North Italy. He had encouraged the entry of Denmark into the war in 1624. He recognized the menace in Wallenstein's imperial policy, and his agents worked hard and successfully for the great man's dismissal in 1630; but he did not intend Maximilian's policy to attain success, and when Christian of Denmark was beaten he set about substituting Gustavus for him as leader of the Protestants.

Gustavus organized his position in Pomerania, and struck his bargain with Richelieu. Magdeburg openly revolted, and called for aid, which he could not give, because Brandenburg, stubbornly inert, lay between; and no German princes joined him.

IN March, 1631, Tilly opened an attack which was foiled, and fell back to lay siege to Magdeburg. Still Brandenburg and Saxony blocked the way, and in May Magdeburg fell and was put to the sack with an accompaniment of rapine, lust and cruelty which has become proverbial. Thereupon John George was ordered to dismiss the forces held in readiness in case of accidents; he refused, and Tilly invaded Saxony. That ended the neutrality of both Saxony and Brandenburg. With his new allies Gustavus marched against Tilly and shattered his army at Breitenfeld in September.

For fourteen months triumph followed triumph. His progress virtually resolved itself into a continuous chain of successes. By marching on the Rhine he secured all North Germany, which no longer held back from joining him. He rejected overtures from Wallenstein—one or the other might head a united or a Protestant Germany, but to share the headship was

EMPEROR RUDOLF II CEDING THE CROWN OF HUNGARY TO MATTHIAS

Protestantism had taken strong root in Hungary and dissatisfaction with the emperor Rudolf II's anti-Protestant policy led to his more tolerant brother Matthias taking over the control of affairs there in 1605. His general policy was displeasing to the emperor, but Matthias secured the support of the national party, gathered an army, and in 1608 compelled Rudolf to cede the crown of Hungary to him. Its ceremonial transfer is thus depicted in Gottfried's Historical Chronicle, 1657.

British Museum

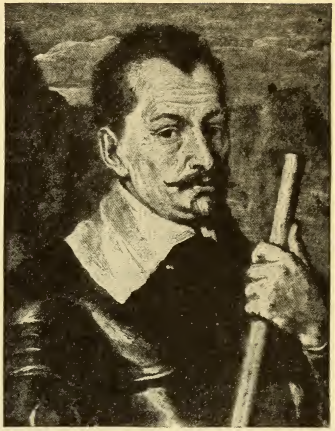
impossible. From the west he turned to Nuremburg; thence he advanced on Munich, defeating and killing Tilly on the way. Ferdinand found no hope, save in recalling Wallenstein on his own terms. The disbanded army sprang to life again. Wallenstein marched on Nuremburg; Gustavus tried in vain to storm his entrenchments and then to entice him into a pitched battle by a withdrawal. Wallenstein, instead of pursuing him, threw himself on Saxony; Gustavus pursued him, caught him up before he had formed his entrenchment camp, and won at Lützen what would have been the decisive battle had he not been himself slain in the hour of victory.

The death of Gustavus again changed the whole character of the war, as his entry had changed it. Without him, it had neither lofty purpose nor an inspiring personality. Whatever Wallenstein's intentions might be, they did not include a second retirement or the occupation of any secondary place.

In 1634 Ferdinand took the decisive step of again dismissing him. Wallenstein ignored the order, and marched to hold a conference with Bernard, when he was assassinated by a band of his own mercenaries who had made up their minds that their faith was pledged not to him but to the emperor. Six months later Bernard and the Swedish general Horn were heavily defeated at Nördlingen; but the effect was to drive the Heilbronn League into the arms of Richelieu, who had now so completely mastered the opposition in France that he was ready to take a more direct part

in the war. Also he had been strengthening his position in the Rhineland and in Italy, where he had secured an entry through Savoy and blocked communication with Germany through the Valtelline.

So in 1635 Ferdinand made with John George, who had refused to join the Heilbronn league, the peace of Prague, which brought Saxony and Brandenburg to his side, practically returning to the peace of Lübeck without the Restitution Edict. The Heilbronn league would have been forced to submit but for its foreign allies, France and Sweden—and, immediately preceding the peace of Prague, France declared war on Ferdinand's ally, Spain. France, Sweden and the Heilbronn league maintained the struggle, which, on the part of France and Sweden,



GENERALISSIMO OF THE IMPERIAL ARMIES

This portrait of Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583-1634) was painted by Van Dyck. At the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, in 1618 he joined the emperor Ferdinand II, and in 1626 held the supreme command. Jealousy and intrigue led to his assassination in 1634.

Pinakothek, Munich

FERDINAND II

This illustration from an engraving by Wolfgang Kilian shows Ferdinand II in state robes. He is wearing the reputed crown of Charlemagne, and the cope of the Holy Roman Empire.

British Museum

was simply for the territorial gain.

Saxony had so far been on the imperial side, embarrassing the Swedes and suffering at their hands; but in 1640 George William of Brandenburg died, and the new elector, Frederick William, at once sought an accommodation with the Swedes, and retired from the war, an example followed three years later by John George.

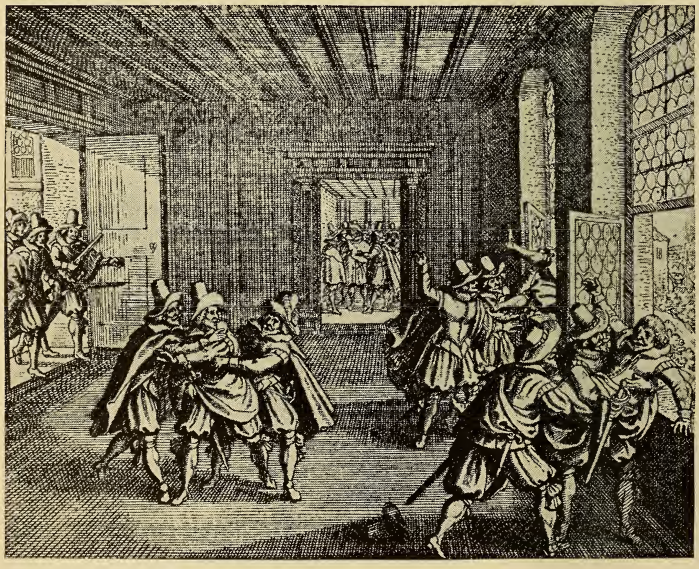
When Richelieu died in 1642 his aims were all but attained. He had crushed the disintegrating forces in France; he had secured Alsace; he had secured Roussillon, a secular bone of contention with Spain, to which it gave the entry. Savoy was under a friendly regent, the mother of the young duke, who owed her position to France; the Valtelline was held by friendly Switzers. The Wallenstein scheme for a consolidated military German empire was past resuscitation till it materialized again in the days of Bismarck.

Louis died six months after Richelieu.

His son and successor, Louis XIV, was four years old, and the regency was secured by the parlement for the queen mother, Anne of Austria, who chose for her minister the supple Italian cardinal, Mazarin. Troublous times were in store; but the position was stabilized by the young Condé's dramatic victory over the Spaniards at Rocroy. The interest of the continued fighting is purely military, Condé achieving an immense reputation, while Turenne was proving himself to be one of the greatest soldiers the world has known.

In October the long-drawn-out agony was eventually brought to an end by the peace of Westphalia, largely because the young queen of Sweden, Christina, who had a very strong will of her own, insisted on moderating the demands of her ministers. But the war between France and Spain, begun in 1635, was not affected by the treaty, and dragged on for eleven years longer. In Germany the independence of every prince, Lutheran or Calvinist, in matters of religion was recognized. The wars of religion, in the international sense, were over.

At the moment when the Thirty Years' War was ending, the Paris Parlement was attempting to assert constitutional rights bearing a close resemblance to those which the English parliament had claimed for centuries. The absolutism established by Richelieu was being exercised by a Spanish regent and an Italian minister; and this body of lawyers sought to bring some check on it, in the absence of any other body endowed with legal powers. Some of the nobles associated



CRIME THAT PRECIPITATED WAR: THE "DEFENESTRATION OF PRAGUE"

War between Bohemia and the emperor Matthias in 1618 was precipitated by the incident depicted in this almost contemporary engraving by M. Merian in Gottfried's Historical Chronicle. Indignant with the emperor's increasingly ultramontane policy the Bohemian Protestant leaders, headed by Count Thurn, proceeded to the Hradcany palace at Prague, and on May 23 denounced the emperor's most trusted councillors Martinic and Slavata, and hurled them out of the window.

themselves with the movement, with the object of strengthening not the lawyers but their own license of action. The party became known as the Fronde; and what had started as a constitutional movement degenerated into a struggle between the court party and the nobles of the Fronde, who were headed by Condé.

This civil war of the Fronde went on with startling changes of fortune till Turenne finally joined the court party, suppressed the Frondeurs, and drove Condé to exile in Spain, which was glad enough to employ his military talents against his own countrymen, in 1652.

MEANWHILE England had beheaded her king three months after Westphalia; Charles II was an exile; the Commonwealth had crushed revolt in Ireland and subjugated Scotland, had embarked on a naval war with the Dutch, and was on the point of passing under the rule of Cromwell's military dictatorship. The Dutch Republic was under the rule of an oligarchy headed by John de Witt, the infant William of Orange being held under close tutelage. Both Spain and France were soon considering the possibility of attracting England to an alliance; while Cromwell's ideas on foreign policy were those of an Elizabethan Protestant who still regarded Protestantism as at stake and Spain as presumably the enemy. In no case would he ally with a power which he counted hostile to Protestantism. He was still suspicious of France—though he closed down the Dutch war readily in 1654—when he opened an attack on Spain in the West Indies in 1655.

So far nothing decisive had taken place in the Franco-Spanish war; but next year Mazarin satisfied Cromwell by intervening in Savoy to stop the persecution of the Protestant Vaudois, and in 1657 Cromwell sent his Ironsides to join Turenne's army in the Netherlands, with decisive effect on the campaign in that quarter. The scale having once turned thoroughly in favor of France, it was convenient for Mazarin that Cromwell died (Sept., 1658) and chaos again beset the government in England, so that Mazarin was able to end the Spanish war by the peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, unhampered by English demands.

In 1660 Mazarin retired, surrendering the reins of government not to a new minister, but into the hands of the young king Louis XIV himself, at the moment when his cousin Charles II was recalled to England amid the rejoicings of the entire population. Two years earlier the still younger Leopold I succeeded Ferdinand III as emperor, and king of Bohemia and Hungary. The marriages of Louis in 1660 and Leopold in 1665, each a son of a sister of Philip IV of Spain, to Philip's elder and younger daughters respectively, were fraught with grave consequences to the maintenance of peace in Europe.

We turn now to the three Baltic kingdoms, Poland, Sweden and Denmark, to which must be added Brandenburg, since

LOUIS XIII IN HIS PRIME

This fine bronze statue by Simon Guillain presents all the more attractive qualities of Louis XIII. Physically he was an active man, fond of field sports and violent exercises, and played a soldierly part in the siege of La Rochelle.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon

William, known as the Great Elector, took the place of his inefficient father, George William, in 1640, and devoted his first years to the recuperation of which his dominion stood in sore need. It became his ambition and his business to raise Brandenburg to the position of the strongest state in North Germany, and the leader of the Protestants.

Queen Christina in Sweden enjoyed a brief and brilliant reign. But the daughter of Gustavus turned Catholic; she had no doubt that the ruler of Sweden ought to be a Lutheran; and in 1654, at the age of twenty-eight, she abdicated in favor of her cousin, Charles X. John Casimir of Poland, whose father Sigismund had once been king of Sweden, refused to recognize Charles's title. Charles, a brilliant soldier, like so many others of the house of Vasa, flung himself on Poland, marching through East Pomerania, where he extorted a free passage from Frederick William, routed John Casimir, and then, doubting the elector's fidelity, marched into East Prussia and required him to acknowledge his own suzerainty in place of John Casimir's. But Poland was not conquered; Denmark, alarmed by his successes, was threatening an attack; and he had to return to Sweden, thinking that he had secured Brandenburg by ceding East Prussia in full sovereignty.

But in 1657 he was fighting the Danes, and Frederick William went over to John Casimir, who bought him by confirming on his own account the cession made by Charles. Charles completely defeated Frederick III of Denmark in

PLAN OF LA ROCHELLE HARBOR DURING THE SIEGE OF 1628

This is a portion of an engraving published in Paris in 1649 illustrating the siege of La Rochelle by Cardinal Richelieu in 1628. The city held out for a year, but despite some assistance from English troops under Buckingham and the vigor of the mayor Guiton, starvation eventually drove the people to surrender.

From Valdor, "Ludovici justi XIII monumenta"

an amazing winter campaign, marching his forces over the frozen sea, extorted from him the treaty of Roeskilde, and, not content with that, renewed the war in 1659, thereby bringing both Holland and Brandenburg to the aid of Denmark. His death in February, 1660, ended the war; and the treaties of Oliva and Copenhagen, the counterpart in the north of the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, retained for Sweden what she had actually won from Denmark, and left Frederick William his East Prussian duchy in full sovereignty, while John Casimir abandoned his claim to the Swedish crown, now worn by the infant Charles XI of Sweden.

POWERFUL SWEDISH STATESMAN

The organizing genius of his chancellor, Count Oxenstierna, was an important factor in the success of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War. This is an engraving after a painting of the count by Michiel van Miereveld.

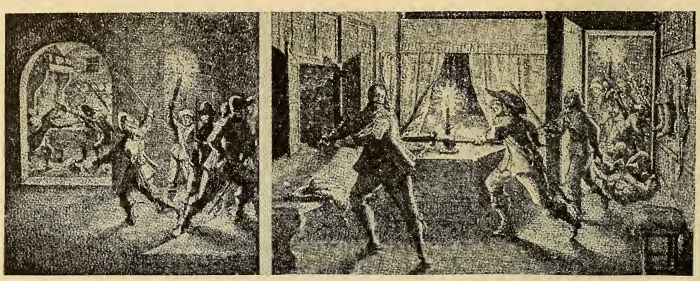
OMINOUS for the West was the revival of aggressive energy in the Turkish empire at this time under the great wazir Mohammed Kiuprili. An Albanian—old but energetic—who speedily revived the power of the Porte.

IN the Far West during this century English colonists established themselves in two groups of colonies, the planters in the south and the farmers and traders of New England in the north, along the North American seaboard, while Frenchmen, under Champlain and other doughty leaders, were pioneering and planting themselves in the basin of the St. Lawrence and at Port Royal (1605), the

VICTORIOUS ENTRY OF GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS INTO MUNICH

After wintering at Mainz, Gustavus Adolphus at the head of his Swedish-Saxon army pursued Tilly through Bavaria to Ingolstadt, where Tilly died of wounds, garrisoned Augsburg and Ulm, and on May 16, 1632, arrived before Munich. On May 18, as recorded in the contemporary broadsheet containing this illustration, the citizens surrendered the keys to him and he made a triumphal entry into the town, followed by the king of Bohemia, the elector of Saxony and other princes.

From O. Jäger, "Weltgeschichte," Velhagen & Klasing



MURDER OF WALLENSTEIN AND HIS ASSOCIATES BY MERCENARIES

These engravings by Matthew Merian show the scenes that took place on the night of February 25, 1634, at Eger. Left: A band of mercenaries broke into the house whither Wallenstein's supporters had been treacherously decoyed, and murdered them. Right: They went to the house where Wallenstein was staying and pursued him to his bedroom, where he was slain by a thrust from Captain Devereaux's partisan. The crime was generally understood to have the emperor's approval.

From Winter, "Geschichte des Dreiszigjährigen Krieges"

Dutch occupied on the Hudson a wedge between the two English groups, and all three were occupying West Indian islands not in actual occupation by Spaniards. From the Spaniards themselves Cromwell appropriated the great island of Jamaica, which was captured and held in 1655.

ON the ground of Cabot's explorations Queen Elizabeth, known as the "virgin queen," had claimed the Atlantic coast region, and it was called Virginia in her honor. During her reign Sir Humphrey Gilbert tried to found a colony in Newfoundland, but his tragic death put an end to the attempt. His plans, however, were carried on by his half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, who made a settlement on Roanoke Island, North Carolina, in 1585 and 1587. Raleigh sent three different companies to Roanoke, but owing to quarrels among the settlers and conflicts with the Indians his venture was a failure. At the opening of the seventeenth century not a single Englishman yet lived on the American continent.

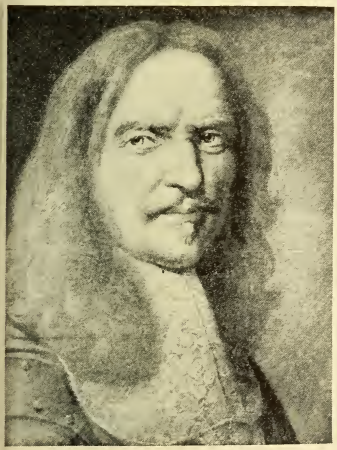
Elizabeth's successor, James I, who became king in 1603, reasserted England's claim to Virginia, which he defined as extending from Newfoundland on the north to the Cape Fear River on the south, and he was eager to found colonies there. The failure of Raleigh, who had spent almost a million dollars, showed the difficulties of trying to establish a settlement by the efforts of one individual. Those interested in the New World devised the plan, new at the time but familiar nowadays, of organizing a joint-stock company in which a number of people shared the risks and the expense as well as the profits of the enterprise. Two companies, the Plymouth and the London, were formed, and King James divided Virginia between them, giving the northern part to the Plymouth Company and the southern part to the London Company.

The land given to the London Company was especially favored by nature. The climate was mild, and fish and wild game were abundant. If the London Company had wished to set up a colony of farmers, a more favorable location could scarcely have been chosen. Unfortunately that was not their aim; they were looking for gold.

In the spring of 1607 three ships with one hundred and five men sailed into the James River in Virginia. The stockholders, who had invested their money in the venture, did not come to America; the first settlers of Virginia were paid employees of the company. Thirteen of the settlers were appointed as a council to govern the colony and to carry out the

instructions of the company. They were told to build a fort on a navigable river some distance from the sea, to give no offense to the Indians, to be prepared for Spanish attacks, and to search for gold and for a passageway to the "Indies." Under no circumstances were they to send complaints to England, as that would make it harder for the company to get other colonists.

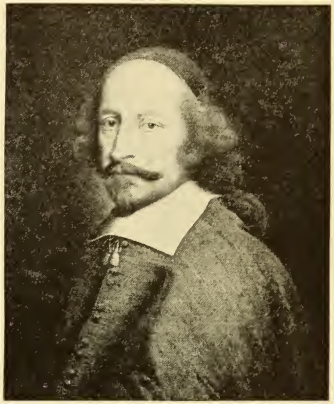
On September 6, 1620, one hundred and two Pilgrims from England, seeking religious liberty and a livelihood, sailed for America on the Mayflower—a little vessel hardly as large as a lake excursion boat of today, though by the standards of that time it was a well-equipped, if not luxurious, boat. On November 11 they reached Provincetown harbor on Cape Cod, but this territory was in the Plymouth Company grant. They tried to go farther south in order to settle in the London Company's territory, but the dangerous shoals and the coming of the winter made this impossible.



GREAT FRENCH MARSHAL

This pastel portrait of Turenne, marshal of France, is one of the masterpieces of Robert Nanteuil, and was painted in 1665 when the great general was 54. Turenne was a prominent figure in the Thirty Years' War.

The Louvre; photo, Giraudon



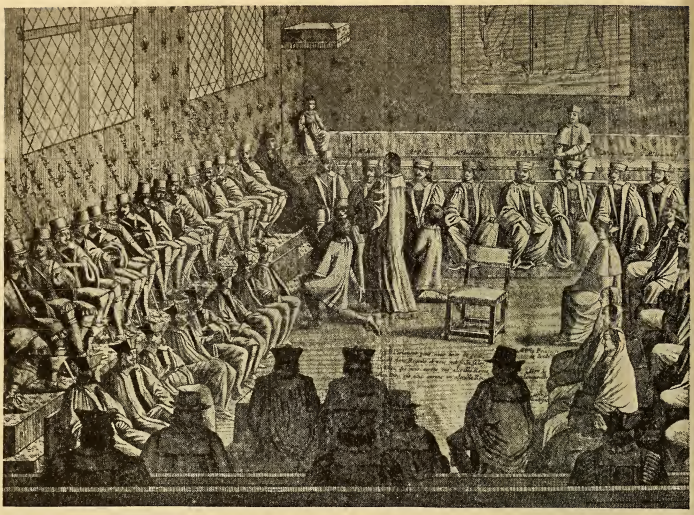
DISCIPLE OF RICHELIEU

Cardinal Mazarin (1602-61), chosen by Richelieu as his successor, continued his patron's policy of centralizing monarchical power. His Italian gift for intrigue procured his triumph in the Fronde Wars and peace with Spain in 1659.

Painting by Mignard, Musée de Chantilly; photo, Giraudon

The Pilgrims suffered terribly during their first winter on American soil. It was December before they had decided on a favorable spot which furnished fresh water, a safe harbor, and a hill on which they could build a fort. They were hampered by the weather in building houses and in obtaining food. The chief food had to be clams, mussels, and eels. The climate was more severe than that to which they were accustomed, so that many fell ill with pneumonia. By the next spring one-half of their little company, including their first governor, John Carver, died from the effects of disease, hunger, and exposure. Nevertheless, when the Mayflower sailed back to England in April, not one of the survivors took the opportunity to return.

In the seventeenth century Holland was one of the greatest commercial nations in the world. In 1609 the Dutch East India Company sent an English sea-captain, Henry Hudson, to search for a western route to the East. He reached the Atlantic coast and sailed into the magnificent harbor of New York. He



ANNE OF AUSTRIA PRESIDING OVER THE PARIS PARLEMENT

Louis XIV was not five years old when he became king of France on May 14, 1643. By the terms of Louis XIII's will, Anne of Austria was nominated regent, and four days after her son's accession she summoned the Parlement of Paris and secured their ratification of her appointment. This contemporary engraving shows the Parlement in session, with the boy-king seated under a canopy of state and the queen-regent, wearing widow's weeds, beside him.

From Larousse, "Histoire de France illustrée"

then continued his journey up the beautiful river which now bears his name, as far north as the present city of Albany. Although he failed to find a new route to the "Indies," his voyage gave the Dutch a claim to the valley of the Hudson River, and he returned with a glowing account of the large profits to be made in the fur trade. Hudson's hope of reaching the Pacific by sailing up the river is reflected in the designation of the Hudson as "the North River." In 1613 the Dutch Company began the establishment of fur-trading posts on the Hudson, Delaware, and Connecticut Rivers. In 1623 a permanent settlement was founded at the mouth of the Hudson River, the present site of New York City. The new town was called New Amsterdam, and the whole region was known as New Netherland. Peter Minuit, who had charge of the first colonists, purchased Manhattan Island from the Indians for goods and trinkets worth about twenty-five dollars. Today the assessed valuation of land and buildings on Manhattan Island is more than six billion dollars.

To turn from the Far West to the Far East. India was ruled by Jehangir and Shah Jehan, the son and grandson of Akbar, till the latter was finally deposed in 1658 by his son Aurangzib. This was the most splendid and prosperous period of the Mogul empire, during which, incidentally, the London East India Company was allowed to establish depots known as factories at Surat, at Madras and on the Hooghli, the remote beginnings of the British Indian Empire.

China saw the overthrow of the Ming dynasty, by the hosts of the Manchus, whose dynasty was still reigning in the twentieth century. At the same time Japan entered on a new phase. Nobunaga had re-created a central government; the

genius of Hideyoshi, despite his humble birth, had established it, and under his dictatorship Japan had seemed on the point of a great imperial expansion at the expense of China, whose collapse before the Manchus suggests that his ambitions, for such a man, were well within reason, though out of range for anyone smaller than he. Moreover, on his death in 1598 there was no one on whom his mantle could fall with a double portion of his spirit, and his son was still a child.

The conduct of the government was vested in councils, who prudently and promptly withdrew from the Korean adventure. The Octavian for this Julius was Hideyoshi's old colleague Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who was no longer a young man. By 1603 he had overcome his most serious rivals and procured from the mikado his official appointment as shogun, an office which he made hereditary by initiating the practice of appointing his son to the Shogunate during his own lifetime while keeping the actual control in his own hands—as western emperors procured the election of their sons as king of the Romans.

Iyeyasu admitted English and Dutch traders and shipwrights, and at first Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans; but, coming to the conclusion, not without evidence, that the latter must be regarded as agents for an aggressive king of Spain, he closed the gates of Japan to all Roman Catholic priests. Christianity, or at least Catholic Christianity was penalized out of existence.

In 1636 the shogun Iyemitsu made a decree forbidding any Japanese to leave the islands, and in 1641 all Europeans were excluded, except the Dutch, who were allowed to remain on a tiny island, and to send no more than ten ships annually to the port of Nagasaki. Deliberately Japan isolated herself and persisted in her isolation for two hundred years.

FRONDEURS AND MAZARINS IN THE BATTLE OF S. ANTOINE

This old print illustrates a particularly dramatic engagement in the Fronde. Condé marching on Paris was overtaken on July 2, 1652, by the royal troops under Turenne and hemmed in in the Faubourg St. Antoine with the Porte S. Antoine closed at his back. The Frondeus were on the point of being annihilated when the duchess of Montpensier persuaded the citizens to open the gate and admit them, and herself turned the guns of the Bastille upon Turenne's forces and routed them.

Cabinet des Estampes, Paris; from Larousse, "Histoire de France illustrée"

NATIONALISM AND DESPOTISM

A STUDY OF THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL SPIRIT AND THE PART PLAYED THEREIN BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AUTOCRACIES

SIR JOHN MARRIOTT

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EVERYONE has a sufficiently accurate idea of what is meant by "autocracy" or "despotism." Most people, at one stage or another of their lives, have had personal experience of its operation. "Nationalism," on the contrary, if it does not actually defy definition, is a singularly elusive term. For the purposes of this chapter, however, we may take it to mean the sentiment which binds together a body of people who have certain things in common, and not infrequently induces antagonism between one body of persons so connected and another. Community of creed, of race, of language, of historical tradition or of territory—all these may evidently contribute to the sense of nationality, yet it is questionable whether any one of them is an indispensable ingredient. According to a French writer of distinction the only essential element in the idea is the fact of "collective consciousness," a "will-to-live in a community." Professor A. E. Zimmern substantially agrees, but the corporate sentiment must, in his view, be related to a "definite home country."

But what, then, shall we say of the Jews? It is indisputable that throughout the many centuries of their dispersion they preserved a sense of nationality, a collective consciousness, yet until the Treaty of Versailles provided them with a "national home" in Palestine they had no foot of territory which they could call their own. Nevertheless, exile did not eradicate, or even attenuate, their national spirit. A long and proud historical tradition combined with a common creed and pronounced racial characteristics to nurture and sustain it. Yet Zimmern is not to be denied. In addition to a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy and dignity, nationality also involves, if not a defined territory, at least "instinctive attachment" to a homeland—a country, an actual strip of land associated with the nationality, a territorial center where the flame of nationality is kept alive at the hearth-fire of home. "When I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning." The contention certainly has much force.

IN the Poles we have another illustration of the same truth. In this case also it is indisputable that, despite the partition of their territory among the Great Powers which surrounded them, the Poles preserved their sense of nationality. Their period of probation was, it is true, relatively brief compared with that of the Jews, but not all the efforts of the partitioners, extending over a period of more than a century, availed to convert the Poles into Russians, Austrians and, least of all, into Prussians.

Lord Acton, in his essay on Freedom, attributes great significance to the partition for another reason. The partition of Poland, which he regards as "the most revolutionary act of the old absolutism," awakened, he says, "the theory of nationality in Europe, converting a dormant right into an aspiration and a sentiment into a political claim. . . . Thenceforward there was a nation demanding to be united in a state—a soul, as it were, wandering in search of a body in which to begin life over again; and for the first time a cry was heard that the arrangement of states was unjust—that their limits were unnatural, and that a whole people was deprived of its right to constitute an independent community."

If we are to think of the doctrine of nationality as a popular cry, a political formula, Lord Acton was doubtless right. As a political force nationality is preeminently the product of the modern

world. But the modern world must be dated, not as some would date it from the French Revolution, but from that series of changes, geographical, ecclesiastical, intellectual, scientific and political, which in the aggregate we designate as the Renaissance and the Reformation.

We must not define too rigidly the limits of that great movement. "Centuries" are apt, for purposes of historical convenience, to be stretched in both directions. If, then, we may date the sixteenth century as beginning about 1453, it would be roughly accurate to say that nationalism as a political factor came to the birth in the sixteenth century.

For a thousand years after the fall of the Roman Empire the known world was dominated by the legacy bequeathed to it by Rome. That legacy was twofold: the idea of a universal Empire and a universal, or Catholic, Church. The Europe of today consists of a congeries of some thirty nation states, sovereign and independent. The Middle Ages took little account of nation states: there was no Germany, or Greece, or Spain, or Italy, or Holland, or Belgium. The spirit of medieval Europe was not, in fine, nationalistic but oecumenical.

However little of substance the Holy Roman Empire may have had behind it in its later period, that curious institution did in medieval times correspond to the dominant idea of the age.

Much more of substance lay behind the claims of the Papacy. The pope, like the emperor, inherited the legacy of Rome. But there was this difference between them: the obedience which the pope demanded was not generally withheld. Between emperor and pope, occupiers according to the medieval theory of a joint throne, there was, indeed, constant rivalry, and not infrequently conflict. Yet uneasy as was, in fact, the joint occupation, the theory which lay behind it was imposing and influential, and not until the Empire had manifestly ceased to be in any sense "imperial," not until the claims of the Papacy to universal dominion were definitely and successfully challenged, could nationalism emerge and assume a place among the political forces of the world.

If the Church and the Empire excluded the claims or obstructed the development of nationalism from above, the feudal system was equally potent in its effects upon the internal economy of potential states. While Church and Empire exercised a centralizing influence and drew the thoughts of the peoples towards Rome, the influence of feudalism was centrifugal and disruptive. Between the claims of the pope on the one side and the feudal lord on the other, the king—or, if we anticipate a modern term, the state—could obtain but a feeble and intermittent hold upon the allegiance of the individual.

In a large measure the precocious sense of national unity in England was due to the resistance offered by her kings to the oecumenical authority of the emperor and even of the pope, and to the tight hold which they kept on the disintegrating influences of feudalism. In Europe as a whole feudalism as a political force was palpably crumbling in the fourteenth century. The Papacy could no longer command the unquestioning obedience which had been paid to great popes like Hildebrand, Innocent III and Boniface VIII in the preceding centuries.

The Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century was, indeed, the product of many forces, but it will not be denied that among them that of self-conscious nationalism was one of the most potent. John Morley, in his "Politics and History," spoke of it as "one of the main keys of Luther's Reformation." Bishop Creighton assigned to it an even larger significance. Writing of the extraordinary change which manifested itself in the mental attitude of Mankind in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the difficulty of analyzing and accounting for that change, and "after marshalling all the forces and ideas which were at work to produce it," he says that the student "still feels that there was behind all these an animating spirit which he cannot but most imperfectly catch, whose power blended all else together and gave a sudden cohesion to the whole." If that animating spirit cannot be described simply as the spirit of nationality there can be no question that nationalism contributed to it an important if not indispensable ingredient.

Bishop Creighton is, however, careful to point out that this growth of national

feeling and its recognition as the dominant force in human affairs was in no sense antagonistic to the development of the individual. On the contrary, "the strength of national life depended upon the force of the individuals of whom the nation was composed. . . . Hence, the two main features of modern history are the development of nationalities and the growth of individual freedom."

It is with the former, nationalism, that this chapter is concerned, and our first business must be to analyze the forces which contributed to the rapid development of national feeling in the latter part of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries. We must note, however, at the outset, that in this respect England was in an exceptional, if not a unique, position.

National self-consciousness was developed in England at an unusually early stage in her political evolution. Clearly indicated as early as 1215 in more than one clause of Magna Carta, it was further consolidated, before the century closed, by the institution of a truly national parliament. For this precocious sense of national unity in England several reasons may be assigned. Her geographical position—insular, detached, remote—undoubtedly fostered it; the physical configuration of the country (sharply contrasted, for example, with that of Greece or Spain) made for unity; so did the great power attained by the monarchy at a relatively early stage in her national history. Norman and Angevin kings gave England an administrative system which, radiating from the crown itself, held effectively in check the disruptive tendencies of the feudal baronage, and made the authority of the king known and respected throughout the length and breadth of the land.

As the result of this administrative centralization feudalism, in the political as opposed to the tenurial sense, never got any real grip upon England. The king was not merely the "lord," but the actual ruler of his people; the law was the king's law, and was administered in the king's courts by the king's judges. Elsewhere, notably in Germany and France, it was the feudal noble who exercised real power; the courts were his, the coinage was his; the crown enjoyed rights of suzerainty, but exercised few if any of the rights of sovereignty. In England, on the contrary, the feudal baron found himself checked, on the one side, by the far-reaching hand of the king; on the other, by the survival of a system of local government, popular in origin and anti-feudal in tendency, and for that reason sedulously encouraged by the crown.

National in relation to his own subjects, the English king was nationally independent also in the face of external authorities, like the pope and the emperor. The kings of England never admitted the superiority of the Holy Roman Emperor. They themselves claimed "imperial" sovereignty and regularly assumed the imperial title. And as with emperors so with popes. Even William I, who fought at Senlac under a banner blessed by the pope, would never admit, without qualification and limitation, the claim of the Hildebrandine Papacy. All the strongest of his successors took a similar line. The Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome (1533) only recalled, therefore, an historical claim when it asserted England's independence of both Empire and Papacy.

All this powerfully contributed to precocity in national self-consciousness. So did the Hundred Years' War with France. Professor Trevelyan has pointed out that that war was "perhaps the first European war that can be called national," and that the efficiency of the English armies which won the resounding victories at Crécy and Agincourt was "the outcome of a national organization and a national spirit." The war against France was at bottom, he adds, not the result of dynastic ambitions on the part of successive kings, but of "national, popular and parliamentary institutions."

Just as the Hundred Years' War was the outcome of English nationalism, and just as the early victories show the strength of the national spirit in England, so the humiliating defeat in which it ended was evidence of the tardy but effective awakening of a national spirit in France.

In the realization of national unity and national identity, France was, therefore, some two or three centuries behind England, but nowhere is the connexion between nationalism and autocracy dem-

onstrated more indisputably or on a more imposing scale. In France feudal government was developed to its full logical extent. In this respect also the history of France affords a sharp contrast to that of England. After the famous partition of the Carolingian Empire at Verdun (843) France became a prey to feudal anarchy. In the year 987 Louis V, the last direct descendant of Charlemagne, died, and in his place the great nobles elected as their king Hugh Capet, duke of the Franks. Hugh Capet was, however, only one of the many great nobles into whose hands power had fallen under the weak rule of the later Carolingians, and his sovereignty extended over little more than two of the modern departments of France.

Yet Hugh had his compensations. He was no longer a vassal, but a king. Immediate lord only of the circumscribed duchy of France, he was a feudal overlord of all the lands that stretched from Flanders to beyond the Pyrenees, from the Atlantic to the Jura. Over the great western duchy of Brittany Hugh Capet and his successors exercised only the most shadowy superiority. The immediate allegiance of the dukes of Brittany was paid to the redoubtable Northmen who had established themselves in the duchy of Normandy. Of the immediate vassals of the French crown the most powerful were the dukes of Burgundy, Normandy and Aquitaine, the counts of Anjou, Flanders, Toulouse and Champagne.

During the five hundred years which followed the election of Hugh Capet the history of France is the history of the absorption of these great feudal principalities into the kingdom of France. The absorption of those principalities was the making of the French nation, the dawn of the realization of national self-consciousness among the people.

By what means was this task, essential to the making of France, to her territorial unification and to the realization of political self-consciousness, actually accomplished? The question can be answered in a sentence: it was accomplished by the development of the royal power. The monarchy made France. Out of a loosely compacted bundle of feudal duchies and counties the crown created a compact, coherent and centralized state. It did more: it brought to the birth the French nation. But if the strengthening of the monarchy made France, the making of France increased and consolidated the authority of the monarch. The two processes act and react on each other.

The crown owed its victory over the disruptive force of feudalism to several concurrent causes. Not the least important was the fact that in the course of three centuries the house of Capet produced a succession of great rulers; three of them, Philip Augustus (1180-1223), Louis IX (St. Louis, 1226-70) and Philip IV ("le Bel," 1285-1314), may claim to rank among the most sagacious statesmen of the Middle Ages. And these Capetian kings had an enormous advantage alike over the preceding dynasty in France and over the contemporary kings of Germany. The crown of France at last became hereditary, and before the end of the twelfth century it was deemed superfluous to continue the practice of getting the heir elected and crowned during his predecessor's lifetime.

Another reason for the steady growth in the power of the crown may be found in its alliance with the Church. This alliance operated in several ways. The establishment of a "truce of God" did something to abate the prevalence of private wars; the institution of the orders of chivalry effected a sensible amelioration in the manners and customs of feudal society, while the Crusades did more, perhaps, than anything else to drain the strength of the feudal nobility. They diverted, on the one hand, the energies of the great vassals into distant fields of wars and encouraged them to a wholesale sacrifice of life and fortune; on the other hand, by the introduction of new ideas, by necessitating new methods of taxation and bringing new classes into prominence they undermined the foundations upon which the whole superstructure of feudalism rested. Scholars and merchants alike sought the protection of the king, and in the growth of learning, in the development of commerce and in the rise of towns the crown found fresh allies against the feudal nobility.

The increased readiness to accept the maxims of the Roman law, induced by the experience of the Crusaders at Constantinople, tended in the same direction. St. Louis had the code of Justinian translated into French, and by the application

of the maxims of Roman law and the adoption of improved methods of judicial procedure he dealt a series of subtle blows at feudal principles and practice. He limited the right of private war, abolished the privilege of private coinage, imposed non-feudal taxation and raised a non-feudal army. Thus he exchanged suzerainty for sovereignty. He became sovereign in jurisdiction, sovereign in taxation, sovereign in legislation; and each step in the development of sovereignty meant a step towards the nationhood of France.

To the development of the royal power and the evolution of French nationalism two new institutions powerfully contributed: the first was the parlement of Paris; the second was the States-General of France. Englishmen must remember that the "parlement" of Paris was not a "parliament" in the English sense, but a law court, the supreme court of justice. The judges, however, became an hereditary body, and formed an important element in the social and administrative hierarchy of France, as the "noblesse de la robe." Later on, in the seventeenth century, the parlement of Paris aspired to a political rôle and attempted, though ineffectually, to impose some restraint upon the omnipotence of the crown. But from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and throughout the two succeeding centuries, the parlement of Paris contributed to the building up of the absolute monarchy.

That the States-General, which roughly corresponded to the English parliament, should have exercised a like influence will seem to Englishmen, and to those who are familiar only with the history of parliamentary institutions in England, a strange paradox. But the English parliament was successful in restraining the power of the crown mainly because in England the nobles and the burgesses were drawn and held together by the connecting link of the county representatives, the knights of the shire.

France has never possessed a class corresponding to the English squirearchy. In France the younger sons and younger brothers of nobles were not, as in England, commoners, but themselves members of the noble caste; the burgesses were by tradition and by instinct the allies of the crown, and allowed themselves to be made the instruments of the crown in destroying the power of the feudal oligarchy. That oligarchy not only threatened the authority of the crown, but was fatal to the political unification or nationalization of France itself.

Feudalism is essentially disruptive. Had the feudal principle been ultimately allowed to triumph in France, France, like Germany, would have consisted of a number of virtually independent states. The victory of the crown was the victory of France; it meant the gradual formation of a compact, centralized and unified state.

The first step to this end was territorial unification, to which a great obstacle was presented by the French possessions of the English crown. This was removed, however, by the Hundred Years' War, which ultimately did much to consolidate France politically, socially and territorially, and to create a French nation. The final expulsion of the English from France (1453) permitted the incorporation of the great duchy of Aquitaine, but the territorial gains were far outweighed by the political. Of all those gains the crown was the residuary legatee. Every class and interest was damaged alike in fortune and prestige by the long-drawn-out war. The nobles never recovered from the blows which at Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt were inflicted by the English yeomen upon the chivalry of France.

The towns suffered both in political liberty and in trade; the Church, the judges of the parlement, the University of Paris, merchants and lawyers, scholars and peasants—all were involved in a common ruin, and the monarchy alone emerged from the welter politically strengthened by the destruction of domestic rivals and territorially augmented by the absorption of feudal fiefs and by conquests from the foreigner. The process of unification was not quite complete, but on the death of Charles the Rash the duchy of Burgundy was finally reunited to France, and in 1491 the marriage of Anne, duchess of Brittany, to the young King Charles VIII of France brought into the crown the last of the great feudal principalities.

Thus did France attain to complete territorial nationhood, and the attainment was in part the result, in part the cause, of the rapid increase in the power of the crown. Later on, other causes contributed to a similar result. Among them one of the most important was the victory won in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by the absolute monarchy over the Huguenots.

Cardinal Richelieu dealt with the Huguenots as with the recalcitrant remnants of the feudal oligarchy. With the social privileges of the French nobility he had no desire to interfer. All their rights and exemptions he allowed them, wisely or unwisely, to retain; but he was resolved that never again should they have the chance of dividing, still less of dismembering, France. No longer were they even permitted to act as governors of provinces; their fortified castles were destroyed; private wars and even duels were prohibited. All administrative functions were concentrated in the hands of the crown and of royal officers. Functionaries known as intendants—nominees and agents of the central government—were appointed to superintend local administration, in place of the deposed aristocracy. Thus did the great cardinal complete the task at which during preceding centuries the most capable of French kings had been steadily working; thus did he, with them, prepare the way for the final triumph of autocracy and nationalism under Le Roi Soleil—Louis XIV.

UNDER Louis XIV the meridian of the absolute monarchy was reached and passed. By his incessant wars he involved his people in much needless suffering, and bequeathed to his successor a bankrupt treasury; by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the policy of the "dragonnades" he overstepped the wise limits imposed upon himself by Richelieu, drove into exile some of the most industrious of his subjects and deprived France of a strain she could ill afford to lose. Nevertheless, he still stands out in French history as "le grand monarque," and Frenchmen of all parties look back to his reign as the period when France touched the zenith of her greatness.

Nor is the national instinct wholly at fault. The latter half of the seventeenth century is rightly known in the history not of France only, but of Europe, as "the Age of Louis XIV." Never again (unless we except the brief meridian of the Napoleonic Empire) was France so dominant in Europe as she was under Louis XIV.

That dominance was the external expression of domestic autocracy and national unity. Administrative centralization went hand in hand with foreign aggression, and so high a point did centralization reach that Louis XIV could say, with literal truth, "L'état c'est moi." The States-General was never summoned; the parlement of Paris was deprived of all semblance of political authority; the Huguenots were crushed or exiled; even the Catholic Church in France, if not actually reduced to the level of a state department, imbibed something of the spirit of nationalism and bowed before the triumph of royal autocracy.

HOWEVER, not until the last remnants of that regime were swept away by the Revolution of 1789 was the work of national unification finally completed. Mirabeau was quick to perceive this aspect of the Revolution. "Several years of absolute government," he said, "could not have done so much for royal authority as this one year of Revolution. Is it nothing to be without parlements, without the Pays d'Etats, without a body of clergy, without a privileged class, without a nobility? The idea of having only one class of citizens would have pleased Richelieu; this equal surface facilitates the exercise of power." Burke emphasized the same truth, and as far back as 1790 predicted with singular prescience that, owing to the removal of all those indirect restraints which mitigate despotism, there might well emerge, as a result of the Revolution, "the most completely arbitrary power that ever appeared on earth." The advent of Napoleon marked the fulfilment of his prediction. More than that: it marked the zenith of French autocracy and of French nationalism.

Modern France is not wholly the creation of the Revolution, or heir only to the Napoleonic Empire. Modern France, intense in nationalistic self-consciousness,

distinguished by ardent devotion to "la patrie," the outstanding exemplification of administrative centralization, is the product not of one century but of all the centuries that have gone before.

Almost coincident with the political unification of France was that of Spain. Charles I (afterwards the emperor Charles V) was the first Spanish monarch to succeed (1516) to a united kingdom, or to represent the leadership of a united people. Hitherto there had been kingdoms in Spain, but no Spanish kingdom, and only very gradually had there evolved in Spain a sense of nationality.

In Spain, as in France, nationalism was the complement and the consequence of autocracy—though, indeed, it proved a plant of very slow and very tender growth, and even now there is not much community of sentiment between Castilian and Catalan, or identity of interest between Barcelona and Madrid.

Now, is autocracy indispensable as the pedagogue of nationalism? The instances already cited in this chapter would seem to suggest an affirmative answer. The success of the Norman, Plantagenet and Tudor sovereigns in England; of Capets, Valois and Bourbons in France; the lack of a similarly sustained discipline in Spain, lend color to the suggestion.

In Germany the history of nationalism also tends to support the generalization. Reference has already been made to the influence of the Papacy and Empire in retarding the growth of the national spirit in Europe as a whole. The development of the German monarchy, and, therefore, of the German nation (since in the infancy of nations the two are inseparable) was sacrificed to the dream of a universal empire. The imperial crown might rest on the brow of Hohenstaufen or of Hapsburg or other German kings, but the reality of power remained with the territorial princes, with the dukes of Saxony and Bavaria, the pfalzgraf of the Rhine, the margrave of Brandenburg, the prince-bishops of Trier, Mainz and Cologne, and the rest. Thus Germany, instead of being gradually united into one powerful nation state, was split up into more than three hundred sovereign states.

The Lutheran Reformation added to the political disintegration of Germany, and so matters continued until the outbreak of the Revolution in France. Then came the Napoleonic wars. Napoleon's armies passed like a great steam-roller over the country and flattened its surface. The successive phases of Bonaparte's policy in Germany are irrelevant to our present purpose, and all that need be said is that the settlement of 1815 left Germany with twenty-eight states instead of over three hundred, while among them Prussia and Austria stood out conspicuous rivals, with no peers among their fellow German sovereigns.

Reaction followed in the train of the the Restoration of 1815, and reaction led to revolution. In 1848 the Frankfort parliament attempted to obtain constitutional liberties for the several states, and to achieve national unity for Germany as a whole. But Frederick William IV of Prussia, to whom the Imperial crown of Germany was offered, shrank from a contest with the Hapsburg Empire, and so German nationalism was set back for another quarter of a century.

One man rejoiced at the delay. Bismarck was no believer in parliaments, parchment and protocols. German nationalism would have to be achieved, so he believed, "by blood and iron." He fulfilled his own prophecy. An army reorganized and rearmed by Von Roon and Von Moltke gave Bismarck the instrument he sought. The Danish duchies were annexed to Prussia; Austria, defeated at Sadowa, was expelled from Germany; a North German Confederation was formed under the presidency of Prussia, only to be transformed, after the German victory over France (1870-71), into a German Empire inclusive of the whole of Germany, except the German part of the composite Empire of the Hapsburgs. Thus did Germany at last achieve national unity, and she achieved it by the methods appropriate to autocracy.

If the development of German nationalism was particularly affected by the survival of the Holy Roman Empire, the realization of Italian nationality was in unique degree retarded by the temporal power of the Papacy. Other factors

operated in a similar direction. At no period after the fall of the Roman Empire until the Risorgimento of the nineteenth century could Italy be described as a nation. Split up as it was into city republics and petty princedoms, with the States of the Church interposed as a solid barrier between north and south, Italy not only failed during long centuries to realize a sense of nationality, but afforded a convenient arena for the contests between rival parties and powerful neighbors. Guelph and Ghibelline in the Middle Ages, Bourbon and Hapsburg in a later age, and in modern times Napoleon and the coalition fought their battles on the soil of Italy.

Italy itself was not yet, but Napoleon, as even Mazzini was fain to confess, contributed powerfully to its advent. Napoleon it was who for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire brought about something like unity in the peninsula. He pulled the petty princes off their thrones; he erased local divisions; he built bridges and made roads; above all, he taught Lombard and Neapolitan citizens of Florence, Genoa and Venice to think of themselves as Italians, and to fight under the banner of a king of Italy. So Napoleon, autocrat as he was, did a great service to the cause of Italian nationality and Italian unity.

His nephew, Napoleon III, carried on the work when, in 1859, he unsheathed his sword in the war of Italian liberation and announced his intention of liberating Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. But after his expensive victories at Solferino and Magenta the French emperor stayed his hand, and the armistice of Villafranca left his work but half completed. Much, however, had been achieved. The Austrian power in Italy was irretrievably shaken; northern and central Italy were united under the House of Savoy, and the way was prepared for the crowning work of Garibaldi and Cavour. The union of north and south, the expulsion of the Austrians from Venice, the abolition of the temporal power of the Papacy and the entry of the Italians into Rome completed the work of Italian unity and enabled Italy, at long last, to achieve a degree of nationality.

Not only among the greater powers had the spirit of nationalism been working during these latter centuries. Nor has autocracy been its only abettor. In defiance of Spanish despotism the United Provinces achieved independence in the last years of the sixteenth century, and under the bracing influence of independence the inhabitants of those provinces not only achieved unity, but quickly evolved a distinctive Dutch nationality. Not, however, until 1830 did the rest of the "Spanish" Netherlands attain nationhood, when, after their brief union (1815-30) with Holland, they emerged as the kingdom of Belgium.

Modern Switzerland affords a remarkable example of the achievement of nationhood in the face of obstacles which might well have appeared insuperable. Compounded of elements diverse in race, in creed, in language and in tradition, the inhabitants of the Helvetic Republic have worked out, in the course of the ages, a distinctive nationality, and Germans, Italians and Frenchmen, Roman Catholics and Protestants, are now indissolubly united in the "Swiss" nation. Except in the application of external pressure autocracy has played no part in the evolution of Swiss nationality.

Nor, except in a negative sense, has it played any in Poland. Reference was made at the beginning of this chapter to the persistence of Polish nationality, in spite of political partition. It is now pertinent to add that the partitions of 1772, 1793 and 1795 were facilitated, perhaps rendered inevitable, by the lack of the autocratic hand which brought to the birth English, French and Spanish nationality in earlier days, and German nationality but recently.

Actually, Poland affords an outstanding example of the centrifugal influence of an all-powerful aristocracy, and the fatal absence, in the critical stage of a nation's evolution, of monarchical absolutism. The gradual decadence and ultimate disintegration of the once-powerful kingdom of Poland were due, of course, to many causes operating in combination: the absence of definable and defensible frontiers; a proverbially ridiculous constitution; the lack of a commercial middle class; the paralysing privilege of a small, proud, if politically

ineffective, aristocracy. But several of these disadvantages would have been neutralized and, indeed, removed could a really strong monarchy have once emerged. The principle of election applied to kingship is, however, fatal to autocracy, and Poland paid the price of adherence to a political superstition. As a state she ceased to exist.

Nevertheless, the Polish nation survived. One of the first declarations of

DISMEMBERMENT OF POLAND

This contemporary engraving by Le Mire satirizes the partition of Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia in 1772, and shows Catherine II, Maria Theresa, Joseph II and Frederick II apportioning the spoils with the aid of a map.

Bibliotheque Nationale: photo, Giraudon

French war aims in August, 1914, contained a promise of its restoration. "Poland," said Clemenceau, "shall live again," and the Peace Conference of 1919 witnessed the fulfilment of his pledge. But the restoration of Poland, though due, primarily, to the adherence of France to her old political traditions, and the anxiety of the allied nations to secure European equilibrium, was rendered possible only by the persistent and intense nationalism of the Poles themselves.

If Poland illustrates the unifying effect of the principle of nationalism, the history of the Hapsburg Empire affords proof of its disintegrating effects. For four centuries it occupied a unique place in the European polity. Consisting of diverse and even antagonistic nationalities, it embraced Germans, Czechs, Magyars, Poles, Rumanians, Slavs, Slovaks, Italians, Croats and Ruthenians. These peoples were held together only by the autocratic but not untactful hand of the Hapsburg emperor.

But the national principle was not to be permanently denied, and 1918 sounded the death knell of an empire which, "ramshackle" though it was, had, nevertheless, been for centuries a political convenience. The nationalistic tide was running too strongly for its continuance, and from the ruins of the Hapsburg Empire a number of nation states emerged. The little republic of Austria, with some 6,000,000 Germans, and Hungary, with some 8,000,000 Magyars, represent the core of the old Empire. The ancient kingdom of Bohemia, enlarged by the addition of Moravia and Ruthenian territory to the south of the Carpathians, has taken its place among nation states as the republic of Czechoslovakia. The triune kingdom of Yugoslavia represents the triumphant vindication of Southern Slav nationality, but it embraces also some non-national minorities. So does the greatly enlarged Rumania, though the nucleus of the kingdom is furnished by the people who proudly claim descent from Trajan's Roman colonists.

Together with Greece and Bulgaria, the two latter kingdoms illustrate the disintegrating force of nationality operating in an empire which, like that of the Ottoman Turks in Europe, was founded, and for more than four centuries was maintained, on the negation of that principle. In the Balkans autocracy was not the sponsor, but very plainly the foe, of nationalism; nationalism represented the revolt against autocracy.

From this survey one or two conclusions seem to emerge. In the infancy of nations, as in that of individuals, a strong guiding hand is indispensable. The early, perhaps precocious, development of English nationalism is evidently

attributable to the exceptional strength of the royal power under Norman and Plantagenet kings.

French and Spanish nationalism was a somewhat later growth, but it was tended and encouraged (especially in the former case) by a remarkable succession of great kings and autocratic statesmen. Russian nationalism, so far as it ever existed at all, owed everything to strong rulers like Peter the Great and the tsaritsa Catherine. Dutch, Swiss and Polish nationalism was the product of other forces, as was that of Italy, the Balkan nations and the Succession states which have emerged from the welter of the Great War and the overthrow of the Hapsburg Empire. The final stages in the evolution of German nationalism were attained, very tardily, under the guidance of a great statesman supported by an irresistable army.

During the course of the last century and a half several nation states have come to birth on the American continent, both in the North and in the South. No one, however, would suggest that the United States of America owes anything of its nationhood to the principle of autocracy, as commonly understood, though it owes much to the statesmanship of men like Washington, Hamilton and Lincoln.

One further observation must needs be made. The preceding pages record the disciplinary process through which the nation states of Europe have passed on their way from feudal disintegration to centralized bureaucracy, from tribal organization to self-conscious nationalism. The intermediate stage is marked—not universally, but so frequently as to afford a basis for generalization—by the development of royal autocracy. The self-conscious nation state is the product of evolution and of discipline. Autocracy is commonly the pedagogue that leads a people to nationhood. The disciplinary process has not always been continuous; continuity has been interrupted by revolution, and revolution has been followed by reaction; reaction in turn, issuing in revolution, has often been succeeded by a period of apparent stagnation.

Politicians are generally in a hurry: consequently they are impatient to register results. Historical study should serve to correct this tendency and also conduce to political tolerance and sympathy.

AREA COVERED IN INTERNATIONAL MILITARY OPERATIONS OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The whole of Central Europe was involved in the religious and political struggle that broke out in Bohemia in 1618. In the course of the ensuing hostilities Silesia and Moravia were ravaged by the Poles. In the north the Swedes overran Livonia and Prussia with the object of securing Pomerania and the Baltic coast. The imperialists under Tilly and Wallenstein devastated the whole region between the Rhine and the Main. On the West trouble between France and Spain broke into flame in the Rhine valley. The redistributions of territory effected by the Peace of Westphalia, which concluded the war in 1648, are marked on the map.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

DEVASTATION OF CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE WARS OF 1618 TO 1648 WITH THEIR EFFECTS ON MILITARY TACTICS

W. ALISON PHILLIPS and Col. J. F. C. FULLER

I. CAUSES AND RESULTS

By W. Alison Phillips

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The outbreak of the Thirty Years' War is dated from the memorable 'defenstration of Prague' on May 23, 1618; but this was no more the cause of the war than the murder of the archduke Francis Ferdinand was the cause of the Great War which broke out in 1914. Like the crime of Serajevo, it was but the spark that set fire to a mass of explosive materials which had long been accumulating in Europe. In order, then, to understand the meaning of the war, it is necessary to know something of the conditions in Europe which caused it and determined its character.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Roman emperor still retained much of the unique luster with which the imagination of the Middle Ages had surrounded him. He was still accorded a pre-eminence as the symbol, if not the effective center, of political unity, and as the God-appointed defender of the Church. The virtual lien of the mighty house of Hapsburg on the imperial crown, elective though it was, had given alarming substance to its shadowy claims. Charles V, whose power bestrode both hemispheres, had seemed to come near to realizing the medieval dream of world dominion; and though his inheritance had been divided after his abdication, the close understanding between the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs remained, reinforcing the imperial prestige and power.

In Germany itself, where the national kingship was merged in the Empire, the kaiser was still in a real sense supreme. The mystic pre-eminence of the Roman Empire was thus sustained, in Germany itself, not only by a traditional reverence, but by the hopes and fears of the feudatories and a lingering sentiment of loyalty which was occasionally to play its part even in that struggle of all against all—the Thirty Years' War.

But if the Empire had its elements of strength, it had also its elements of weakness, partly due to its elective character partly developed out of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The princes began to regard their territories as states rather than as estates, and to forget their dependence on the emperor in the contemplation of a sovereignty conferred on them by the grace of God alone. To this process the Reformation powerfully contributed, by breaking the uniformity, if not the unity, of an empire which had a spiritual as well as a temporal aspect. Protestantism, wherever it was victorious, reorganized the Church on a territorial basis. Each territorial ruler set up his own model—whether Lutheran or 'Reformed'—and assumed in religious matters a sovereignty which not only subordinated the Church to the authority of the state, but inevitably excluded the claims of the emperor as the Church's defender. The struggle which raged round this question in the sixteenth century had ended in a compromise. By the Religious Peace of Augsburg, in 1555, Roman Catholics and adherents of the Augsburg Confession, later called Lutherans, were placed on a footing of equality, and it was agreed that each secular prince had the right to eject from his territory all those who did not accept the religion established by him.

The Lutherans, moreover, were allowed to keep all the Church property seized by them before the Treaty of Passau (1552); but a fateful clause was added, known as the 'ecclesiastical reservation,'

under which any spiritual prince who should in the future accept the Confession of Augsburg was to forfeit his principality. The validity of this clause was disputed by the Lutherans; and, to the intense indignation of the Catholics, several prelates subsequently turned Protestant and continued to hold their sees as secular principalities. Most important of all, this treaty applied only to the Lutherans. The Calvinists, who included some of the most powerful princes in the Empire, were deliberately excluded from it.

Clearly this settlement, which still held good at the beginning of the seventeenth century, contained the seeds of future trouble. The Calvinist princes were conscious that their reformed religion and their possession of the confiscated Church lands were safe only so long as the emperor was weak—if, that is to say, he continued to be a Catholic Hapsburg. Nor could the Lutheran princes feel much more secure. Many of them held Church lands secularised since 1552, which were thus unprotected by the treaty.

Moreover, the treaty itself was now being called in question. Rome argued that the terms of the Peace of Augsburg were provisional, valid only so long as the religious controversy within the Church remained unsettled; and that this had been definitely determined by the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent in 1564, which had therefore nullified the Augsburg agreement. A revival of Catholicism, then, threatened the Protestant princes not only in their faith, but in their power and their pockets. Thus in order to explain the outbreak of the last and greatest of the wars of religion, and to provide one of the guiding threads through its labyrinthine history, some idea must be given of the condition of morals and religion in Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

It was a coarse and cruel age, for manners and morals had alike deteriorated to an almost incredible degree during the troubled sixteenth century. Crime was rife, highway robbery and murder the order of the day; but while savage penalties were imposed for minor offences, homicide was lightly regarded. These results may be illustrated by a single extract from a contemporary newspaper, Number 49 of the Strassburger Zeitung (1609). 'It is very unsafe at night in the alleys,' wrote a correspondent from Prague, 'where people are held up, plundered and some murdered, and their bodies thrown into the Moldau, from which yesterday seven corpses were recovered below the bridges.' The dissoluteness of morals, the cruelty and the contempt for human life, were not the results of the war; they were rather among its causes. The war was characterized by unspeakable atrocities from its very outset.

The age was cruel and coarse, but it was also an age of faith. Neither the Renaissance nor the Reformation had done anything to remove the terrors with which the medieval imagination had surrounded men's lives; for the humanists had their familiar spirits and dabbled in the black arts, and the Reformers found plentiful support in the Bible for their belief in the omnipresent activity of evil spirits and the unholy compacts of wizards and witches with them. In 1627-28 the bishop of Würzburg is reported to have condemned nine thousand witches and wizards to the stake; and in 1640-41 one thousand were burnt alive in the small Silesian principality of Neisse alone.

In such an atmosphere there was clearly no room for toleration; it was obviously of the utmost importance, both for prince and people, to have a perfect shield of faith against the malevolence of devils and the wrath of God. So, while men would shift from one faith to another, they would not tolerate the presence of any faith but their own. Protestantism did not mean religious liberty; for the Protestant prince who assumed the part of 'supreme bishop' in his own territory was every whit as inquisitorial in his methods as Rome.

Since, too, so much stress was laid on the importance of doctrinal orthodoxy, religious debates were carried on with a bitterness and a wealth of vulgar invective amazing to our indifferent age. In this there was little to choose between the creeds. If the Jesuits taught their pupils to avoid all Protestants as they would the pestilence, the Lutheran divines denounced the Calvinists as

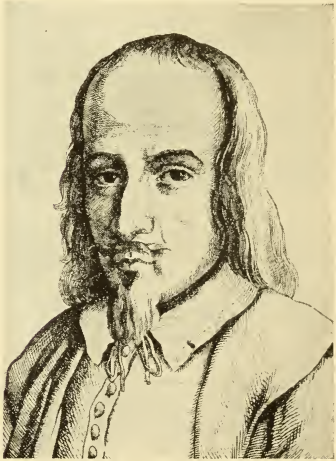
devil-worshippers or as devotees of 'a wanton, capricious and blood-thirsty Moloch,' and Calvinistic divines retaliated by accusing the Lutherans of clinging to the rags of popery and partaking of meats offered to Roman idols. All three combined to persecute the unhappy sectaries who agreed with none of them. Only here and there were to be found gentle spirits who, like Jakob Böhme, the great apostle of mysticism, or Julius Arndt, a father of Pietism, still taught that 'the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.' For the rest, in the year 1617, the centenary of the Reformation and the eve of the Thirty Years' War, what was being preached from the pulpits of Germany was the gospel of hate, not of love.

In the spreading of this gospel the Society of Jesus (see Chapt. 128) was now playing a leading part. Already, under their influence, the tide of Protestantism, which had submerged nearly all Germany, had begun to recede; and the ebb might well cause alarm to the princes of the reformed religion, since the Jesuits taught that no faith need be kept with an heretical sovereign, and that it was a meritorious action to rebel against him and even to remove him by the assassin's knife.

The peculiar horrors of the war itself are largely explained by the character of the armies engaged.

In the absence of standing armies, then, the princes were forced to enlist mercenaries, which they did by engaging the services of professional captains of the type of the Italian condottieri, who in turn collected their men from among the adventurous spirits and the riff-raff of all countries. The arrangement was a purely business one; the mercenary and his leader simply sold themselves for a given sum and for a stated time. The leaders usually retained the right to name their own officers, and they refused to obey orders not in the contract. The immediate paymaster of the troops was their leader, and to him, rather than to the prince who employed him, their loyalty was due.

Since even the fighting men were often unpaid, they had to pillage or starve. The laws of war, moreover, permitted an invading army to 'live on the country,' and authorised pillaging was often as destructive as the unauthorised looting which leaders like Tilly or Wallenstein punished with prompt severity, while certain of the commanders—notably Mansfeld and Christian of Halberstadt—kept their troops attached to them by not only permitting but encouraging every sort of license. In short, the armies—whose strategic movements were often determined by the necessity for finding supplies—passed hither and



APOSTLE OF MYSTICISM

In a cruel age Jakob Böhme (1575-1624), the German mystic, stands out as a gentle soul whose aim it was to lead men to a belief in the divine immanence. His speculations aroused ecclesiastical hostility, but his influence survives.

From Bechstein, 'Deutsche Männe'

thither over the country like swarms of locusts, eating up everything in their path. Wallenstein alone, as the master of vast domains which remained immune, was able to accompany his army with regular trains of supplies derived from his own resources. It was one of the main secrets of his success.

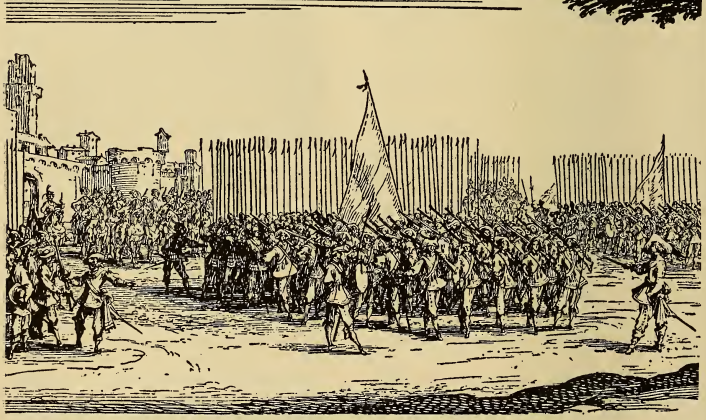
The consequences of this system of making war pay for war beggar description. For thirty years terror ruled the German countryside. Famine and the pestilence that follows famine were the

common lot. In vain the wretched peasants continued to sow and reap: a good harvest simply drew the brutal soldiery like a magnet, and barns and fields and vineyards were stripped bare. The starving people were driven to eating offal and carrion, dogs, cats and vermin, and too often even human flesh. The prevalence of cannibalism is, indeed, cited by contemporaries as the most ominous sign of the moral degradation produced by the war. In the case of the miserable people it had some excuse in the extremity of their need. It was also practised by some of the soldiers in a mere ecstacy of savage cruelty. Duke Charles of Lorraine mentioned in Paris, as an item of interest, that his soldiers at times roasted and ate children.

Two pictures from contemporary sources may serve to illustrate these cruelties and their effects. The Strassburger Zeitung for December 11 to 21, 1620, announced from Vienna that the Poles, 'blood-thirsty and evil people,' had entered the city, three thousand strong, laden with gold and silver and other loot from Silesia and Moravia:

> In passing through a certain place they had chanced upon a wedding celebration at the house of a gentleman of position, had cut down the bridegroom and the wedding guests, violated the women, looted all the table and silver ware, stripped the women of their clothes, and carried off the bride . . . Outside the city here they are now selling for seven or eight Gulden clothes which could not be made for a hundred Thaler. The very horse-boys have silver bowls out of which I have seen them drinking.

That is an illustration of what could happen at the beginning of the war. Fourteen years later Pastor Minck records under the year of 1634 how, after the battle of Nördlingen, the stricken country of Hesse-Darmstadt was overrun by Swedes and imperialists alternately, 'so that the whole country between the Rhine and Main was exhausted, and no man dared show himself in the open.' He goes on to describe the ghastly



RECRUITING A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MERCENARY ARMY

This and the illustrations in the two pages that follow are taken from a series of etchings on The Miseries and Misfortunes of War, executed by Jacques Callot the French artist (1592-1635), who had a European reputation in the early seventeeth century as an engraver of military subjects. The scene above represents the enlisting of an army of mercenaries, with recruits signing on at a drumhead and being given arms while companies form up in the square.

From Callot, 'Les misères et les mal-heurs de la guerre,' 1633

LAWLESS MERCENARIES' BRUTALITY AND ITS PENALTIES

Callot's genius for grouping many figures in a small space and giving expression to each is well exemplified in this picture. Brutality equal to that they inflicted on the peasantry was visited upon mercenaries whose mutiny might infect their comrades. Public executions for indiscipline and, under some commanders, for looting were common.

From Callot, 'Les misères et les mal-heurs de la guerre,' 1633

tortures inflicted by both sides on the luckless people who fell into their hands, in order to force them to reveal their supposed hidden stores:

> Many crept away and hid themselves in the forests, caves, rocks, etc.; but these were spied out, for the soldiers had with them man-hunting dogs . . . Therefore everyone fled to the fortified places, where all alleys, courts and corners were crowded with people, especially in Lichtenberg, which offered small accommodation, so that many lay under the open sky in rain, snow and cold, or some in casks and butts, while in winter-time the rooms were so full that by reason of the crowd none could sit down but all had to stand packed close together, which was a great pain and misery to behold, not to speak of having to suffer it oneself.

It is small wonder, then, that more and more land went out of cultivation. Not the least significant passage in Pastor Minck's ingenuous chronicle is that in which he describes a rich crop of young fir trees growing in what had been fields of corn.

The fate of the walled towns was, on the whole, less terrible than that of the open country. But the laws of war accepted at the time laid down that places taken by assault should be given over to the unrestrained licence of the soldiery. There were several such cases during the war, but one only need be mentioned, if only as illustrating the temper of the times. The imagination even of that cruel age was impressed by the crowning horror of the sack and burning of Magdeburg, a five days' orgy of lust and cruelty which spared neither sex nor age and cost the lives of twenty thousand people. Pious Pastor Minck records with horror this giving over of the chief stronghold of the Evangelical faith into 'the bloody hands of tyrannical Papists.' For the imperialist Count Pappenheim it was 'an awful visitation of God.' For Pope Urban VIII, that shifty nepotist, it was a crowning mercy.

'The smoking ruins of the wicked city,' he wrote to Duke Maximilian on July 28, 1631, 'will be "aeterna monumenta divinae elementiae" eternal monuments of God's mercy!'

In the year 1618, of course, no one foresaw these things. In carrying out that fateful defenestration Count Thurn and his friends had in mind only the grievances of Protestant Bohemia and their redress. Yet its immediate reactions in the religious sphere gave a taste of what was to come.

Things had gone well enough for a time under the rule of the feeble emperor Matthias. In order to secure his accession to the crown, which was still elective, he had issued the Charter of Majesty guaranteeing the liberties of the Protestant estates, and these had been hitherto fairly well respected so long as moderate counsels prevailed at Vienna. But as Matthias grew older and feebler a new power arose behind the throne, for whom all counsels of moderation in dealing with heretics were anathema. This power was the Society of Jesus. Its temporal champions in high places were the archduke Ferdinand, the Austrian heir who eventually succeeded Matthias and who had already made a clean sweep of heresy in his duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, and the archduke Maximilian, who ruled 'the holy land Tyrol,' into which Protestantism had never found entrance. To these powers the defenestration was a living gage of defiance. It was at once followed by the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom 'for ever,' and a general insurrection throughout the country.

This triumph was brief; and after an ill-conducted war, the brief episode of the 'Winter King,' and his crushing defeat by Tilly at the battle of the White Hill the fate of Bohemia was terrible. Executions and wholesale confiscations were the order of the day, and in the process the old Czech nobility was practically exterminated. The religious reaction was even more appalling, so monstrously thorough, indeed, that even Maximilian of Bavaria and the papal nuncio condemned it as impolitic.

The methods employed were stern, but very effective. Refractory burgesses; when theological argument failed, had

RAPINE, RAVAGE AND ARSON THAT LEFT RUIN IN THEIR WAKE

Nothing was safe in a country overrun by mercenary troops. Churches were despoiled of their treasures and burnt; cottages were stripped of bedding and clothes and then set on fire; all the livestock was driven off and the least attempt at resistance on the part of the unfortunate villagers was repaid by murder. Pity was an emotion unknown among these hireling troops and for thirty years they were a terror wherever they marched, leaving famine and pestilence behind them.

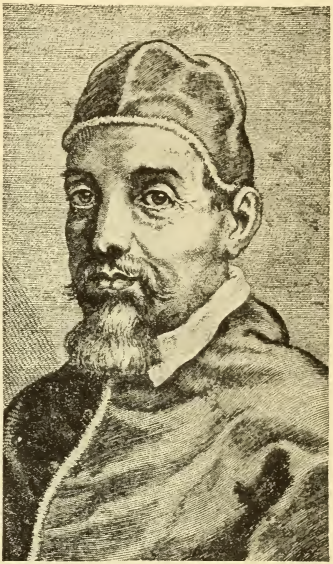
From Callot, 'Les misères et les mal-heurs de la guerre,' 1633

soldiers billeted on them. Peasants who stubbornly refused to believe in Catholic truth were chained to stone pillars and flogged until they did—the women in private, for decency's sake. Finally, in 1627, the unconverted remnants were ordered out of the country. Thirty thousand families were thus expelled. Bohemia, once the storm-centre of Protestant revolt, became obediently Catholic.

A like fate befell the other Hapsburg lands. By the autumn of 1626 the insurrection in Upper Austria had been stamped out in blood by Maximilian's Bavarians, and here too Protestants of all classes were given the choice between the mass and exile. In Lower Austria, which had remained comparatively quiet, Protestant worship was forbidden, Protestant pastors were expelled, and the care of education—including the University of Vienna—was handed over to the Jesuits. Moravia shared the fate of Bohemia; only in Silesia, for politic reasons, were certain of the rights secured to the Protestants under the Charter of Matthias allowed to survive. In Hungary, when the authority of Ferdinand was established, after the peace treaty concluded with Bethlen Gabor at Nikolsburg, on December 31, 1621, the counter-Reformation also proceeded apace. But in Hungary it was neither so drastic in its methods nor so complete as in the other Hapsburg lands, and a powerful Calvinist element survived and still survives.

Events in the Palatinate, too, later on in the war after the decision at Ratisbon (1623), which gave the Catholics a majority in the Electoral College, provide yet another object lesson of what Catholic ascendancy might mean. The secularized religious foundations were 'reformed,' that is to say, handed back to the Church, and the catholicisation of the country was vigorously taken in hand. Heidelberg, so long a center of Protestant light and learning, was cleansed of both; long trains of wagons carried the famous Palatine library to Rome; the University was handed over to the Jesuits.

Two of the leaders deserve more than passing notice, as characteristic of what was best and worst in the age—Christian, bishop of Halberstadt, and Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. Christian, who had been



CALLOUSNESS IN S. PETER'S CHAIR

Urban VIII, pope from 1623 to 1644, professed to view the Thirty Years' War as a political sruggle, and supported France. The sack of Magdeburg he regarded with un-Christian callousness as a divine visitation on a sinful city.

Contemporary engraving

a cavalry leader in Dutch service, had, in 1616, been thrust into the bishopric of Halberstadt by his elder brother, Duke Ulric of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, had been duly elected by the Catholic chapter, and had been enthroned in his cathedral with all the solemn ritual of the Catholic Church. For a man of this type the war was a welcome opportunity, and he proved one of the most brutal of the mercenary leaders. Proclaiming himself 'God's friend and the priest's foe,' he plundered clergy and laity alike, and wherever he went left a desolation behind him. But he had the supreme merits in such a war of reckless courage and a great capacity for command.

Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, the youngest of several brothers who commanded in

the war and the only one to achieve fame, had the courage and capacity without the brutality of Christian. He was a sincerely pious Lutheran, who fought for the cause of Protestantism, and a patriotic German. Though Bernard first came into notice at the battle of Wiesloch (April 27, 1622), when he contributed to Mansfeld's victory over Tilly, it was not till twelve years later that he began to play a leading part in the war.

The outstanding figure, eclipsing both of these, in the story of the years that followed the extension of the war to Europe as a whole is that of Albrecht von Wallenstein, or Waldstein, the most interesting of the condottieri of the period. His character and career are riddles hard to read. He belonged by birth to the Bohemian nobility and had been brought up in the strict school of the Moravian Brethren, but had turned Catholic as a young man and taken military service under Ferdinand of Styria. A rich marriage gave him the means of recruiting soldiers on his own account, and these, after 1618, he sold to the emperor in return for large grants of land and successive rises in the feudal hierarchy: in 1623 he was created prince, and in 1625 duke of Friedland.

The opening years of the war had revealed his military genius; his genius as an administrator was shown by his excellent government of Friedland and, later, of Mecklenburg. Nor did he share the religious intolerance of the age, though he shared its superstitions—notably its belief in the influence of the stars on human destiny.

BUTCHERY OF BOHEMIAN PROTESTANTS IN THE NAME OF THE CHURCH

A contemporary colored print includes these scenes in the principal square of Prague in June, 1621, when, following the defeat of the Winter King by Tilly, the Protestant nobility of Bohemia was almost exterminated by the triumphant Catholic party. Hangings and decapitations were the order of the day, the heads being stuck on poles at the top of the bridge tower (top right), while other unfortunates were flogged round the square and nailed by their tongues to scaffolds (bottom right).

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'

His great opponent, Gustavus Adolphus, was of a very different stamp. This Protestant hero, as described by contemporaries, was a typical Norseman. He was tall and full-bodied; and his large and kindly blue eyes looked out from a pink and white face framed in yellow hair.

The good cause was not wholly that of true religion. 'The King,' said his great chancellor, Oxenstierna, 'regarded Pomerania and the Baltic coast as the outworks of Sweden, and went to war in order to secure them.' He had already overrun Livonia and Prussia, still fiefs of the Polish crown, and was master of the whole Baltic coast east of Pomerania when Wallenstein's vision of imperial sea power in the north threatened the destruction of his plans. The help given by him to Stralsund, and his subsequent negotiations with the other Hansa cities, wrecked the imperial designs on the Baltic; but it was not till September, 1629, that the good offices of Richelieu enabled him to conclude a truce with Poland and so to turn his undivided attention to the affairs of the Empire.

BISHOP AND MERCENARY

Simon van Passe engraved this portrait of Christian, bishop of Halberstadt (1599-1626). It sufficiently indicates the entirely unspiritual nature of a bishop whose career as a mercenary leader was characterized by extreme brutality.

British Museum

The decisiveness of his intervention was due to his personal character and a military genius developed by long experience of warfare. The army which he commanded at the outset (its character changed later) was no such motley host as followed the standards of a Mansfeld or a Wallenstein. It was manned by Swedes and, like Cromwell's invincible Ironsides later, by 'men of religion,' given to psalmody and preachings, and well disciplined. It was also organized on new lines, chiefly with a view to mobility: its cavalrymen had dropped all their armor, save helmet and breastplate; its infantrymen carried a musket lighter than the old arquebus; the cumbrous guns, which had needed some ten pairs of horses to drag them, were replaced by a comparatively mobile field artillery. Hence the rapidity of movement by which Gustavus Adolphus was to astound and disconcert his opponents.

The ghastly welter of the Thirty Years' War ended with the Peace of Westphalia. This peace was of epoch-making importance, not only by reason of the territorial and other settlements it effected, but because it opened a wholly new and very suggestive chapter in the history of diplomacy. At Osnabrück and Münster, for the first time, the representatives of many states met together for a general purpose. The Congress of Westphalia, in short, began the process which, after many vicissitudes, has led to the establishment of the League of Nations.

Technically the work of the congress was to conclude peace between the emperor and his allies on the one side and

BERNARD OF SAXE-WEIMAR

Very different from Christian of Halberstadt (pg. 2087) was Bernard of Saxe-Weimar (1604-39). A thoroughly religious man and a capable commander, he rendered fine service to the cause of Protestantism in Germany.

Engraving by William Hondius

the kings of France and Sweden and their allies on the other. For these separate purposes the congress was divided into two conferences, the negotiations with France being carried on at Münster, those with Sweden at Osnabrück; it was at the latter only that the religious difficulties were discussed. The results of the prolonged discussions were ultimately embodied in two main treaties, concluded at Münster and Osnabrück respectively in 1648, the peace being regarded, however, as the work of a single congress.

Under the terms of the treaty of Osnabrück Sweden retained western Pomerania, with Stettin and the island of Rügen, and received the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, thus becoming a member of the Empire. She had thus gained the political object for which Gustavus Adolphus had entered the war. Under the treaty of Münster the king of France retained the bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun and received, in addition, Breisach—on the right bank of the Rhine—and Upper and Lower Alsace, subject, however, to his respecting the liberties and 'immediacy' of the bishops of Strassburg and Basel and the other immediate estates of the Empire. The king accepted this limitation on condition that it did not interfere with his sovereign rights—a reservation which held the seeds of all the future trouble between Germany and France over the Alsace-Lorraine question; for it gave Louis XIV later a legal pretext for his policy of 'reunion,' the memory of which awoke bitter feelings in the Germans when at last they became a nation.

The Swiss Confederation was now formally recognized as independent. The independence of the United Provinces, which had nominally formed the 'Burgundian Circle,' was recognized implicitly by their being treated as belonging to Spain, which came to separate terms with them.

As for the Holy Roman Empire, the result of the settlement was that it became—as Voltaire said a century later—'neither Holy, nor Roman, nor an Empire.'

The religious question was settled at Osnabrück in a manner which has left its permanent impress on Germany, where the geographical distribution of the rival creeds has become stereotyped

A DEVOUT WARRIOR

On June 26, 1630, Gustavus Adolphus set foot on German soil at Usedom in Pomerania, and his first act was to kneel and ask God's blessing on his enterprise—an impressive incident thus depicted in a contemporary print.

From Jäger, 'Weltgeschichte'

in a somewhat confusing fashion. The treaty of Passau (1552) and the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) were now made fundamental laws of the Empire, but widened so as to include the Calvinists. This did not, however, imply the acceptance of the principle of toleration; for all other forms of religion were forbidden by the treaty.

The state of possession of Church property was fixed as from January 1, 1624, but it was agreed that if the occupant of such property changed his religion, his occupancy should cease ipso facto—a provision which stopped the spread of Protestantism by conversions in high places. In the Hapsburg lands the exercise of the Protestant religion continued to be absolutely forbidden, except in certain parts of Silesia, the city of Breslau, and among the nobility of Lower Austria.

The religious peace was thus but an unsatisfactory compromise, and if it endured this was due in the main to a natural reaction against the fanatical spirit which had brought such untold misery into the world.

From the point of view of German nationality, however, the most fateful outcome of the Peace of Westphalia was the virtual independence conferred on

SOLEMN RATIFICATION OF PEACE BY THE DELEGATES AT MUENSTER

On October 24, 1648, peace between Spain and the Netherlands was finally concluded at Münster in Westphalia. The historic meeting was held in the Friedenssaal (peace chamber) in the fourteenth-century town hall. This picture by Gerard Terburg shows the Spanish ambassador taking the oath with his hand upon a copy of the Gospels on which a crucifix lies. The Netherlands minister stands by his side and on the left of the table is the commandant of Münster.

National Gallery, London

the estates of the Empire by the recognition of their right to send representatives abroad and to enter into alliances with foreign powers. In the nineteenth century the impulse to German unity was to come, not from the old Empire—though the memory of it lingered—but from one of the new states which had arisen out of its ruins. At Osnabrück, in 1648, the process was begun which ended at Versailles, in 1871, with the proclamation of the king of Prussia as German emperor.

It is now calculated that the war killed off half the population of the country, that is to say, some eight million souls. Its economic effect was most visible in the domain of agriculture; vast tracts of land went out of cultivation, and so remained for a generation or more after the war; indeed, its scars are still visible in Germany, where here and there the name of a village survives where no village is.

The effect of the war on the towns is more difficult to estimate. During the war itself a profitable trade continued to be carried on by a few favorably situated cities: Leipzig, the staple which governed the trade from central Germany, and Frankfort, Bremen and Hamburg, which lay on the outskirts of the trouble. In general, however, the numerous imperial free and Hansa cities, once busy centers of commercial and industrial life, sank into little more than sleepy country market towns.

But though this decline of the industrial life of Germany was doubtless hastened by the war, this was not its only nor even its primary cause. The geographical position of England and Holland, especially, now gave them an immense advantage over the Germans in the competition for the world's trade, and this advantage was ruthlessly exploited. And while English were ousting German ships from the traffic by sea, English economic policy was helping to ruin German industry: it was Queen Elizabeth's prohibition of the export of wool that destroyed the fine cloth weaving which had been carried on, more especially, in Brandenburg, Lusatia and Saxony. Add to this the fall of Antwerp and the closing the mouths of the Rhine by the Dutch, which ruined the German cities dependent on this outlet for their trade, and it is clear that the war was not the main cause of the economic decline of Germany. It merely hastened the process.

Yet the special legacy of the war was disastrous enough. The German people, their wits benumbed by so much misery, and condemned to live under social and political conditions which seemed to preclude any hope of national regeneration, fell into a mood of mental and moral lethargy, and into that habit of submission which was to provoke the bitter gibes of the poet Heine and survive even the enthusiasms of the War of Liberation. The thread of the national traditions had been snapped, and the literary revival of the eighteenth century (described in Chapter 136), which once more awakened the national consciousness, had to seek its inspiration abroad, in France and England.

II.

THE MILITARY OPERATIONS

By Colonel J. F. C. Fuller, D.S.O.

Author of Tanks in the Great War; The Foundations of the Science of War, etc.

The Thirty Years' War was the Medean cauldron into which medieval Europe was plunged to be rejuvenated; and its effect on military tactics and organization was profound. Since, however, these cannot be correctly understood if divorced from their context, it will be necessary to include a certain amount of extraneous political considerations in the following account.

The opening of the war found the newly elected emperor Ferdinand in a difficult position, for he possessed few troops of his own, and he could not call upon Maximilian's army of the League without promising to aggrandize Bavaria.

The Empire was divided; Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia, Hungary, Austria, Styria, Carniola and Carinthia, all hereditary possessions of the house of Hapsburg, were actuated by the reformed religion, and were terrified at the policy which, on his accession, he had proclaimed in the words, 'Better to rule over a desert than a country full of heretics.' Unable to raise troops in the hereditary dominions, he obtained them from Italy and Spain, and selected the generals Dampierre and Bucquoy to command them.

The Protestants were in an equally difficult position; they could not pay their soldiers, and the only coherent force then in the field was that of Count Mansfeld, who, having been out of employment since the war in Italy had terminated, entered the service of the Union. He was an illegitimate son of the emperor Rudolf II, with whom he had quarrelled, and his hatred of the Hapsburgs was intense.

A GREAT GENERAL

A great leader and fine strategist, the count of Tilly (1559-1632) commanded the troops of the Catholic League with signal success, until he was pitted against Gustavus Adolphus, by whom he was routed at Breitenfeld in 1631.
Painting by Van Dyck, Pinakothek, Munich

'THE ATTILA OF CHRISTENDOM'

Ernst, count von Mansfeld (c. 1580-1626), fought vigorously, though unsuccessfully, against Tilly. His campaigns were characterized by the worst features of mercenary warfare, his unpaid troops living on pillage and wasting the country.
Engraving by Crispin von Passe

The election of Frederick as king of Bohemia was a gross blunder on the part of the Union, for it caused Maximilian to let loose the army of the League, which consisted of 21,000 foot and 4,000 horse. He placed it under the command of Count Tilly, a Walloon general, and instructed him to invade Bohemia. Simultaneously a Spanish army, 20,000 strong, under Spinola, marched from the Netherlands and entered the Palatinate. Frederick's election, far from consolidating the Protestant leaders, disintegrated them, for, as he showed leanings towards Calvinism, the Union and the elector of Saxony abandoned him; this desertion left him with but one ally, namely, Bethlen Gabor, the semi-barbarian king of Hungary.

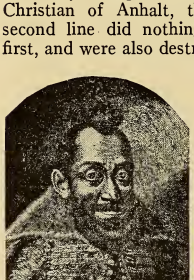
Count Tilly, having united his forces

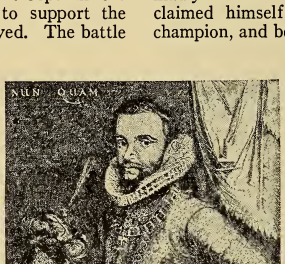
with those of Bucquoy, marched on Prague, near which city Frederick's followers, under Christian of Anhalt, took up a strong position on a hill called the Weisenberg (White Hill). There, on November 18, 1620, Frederick, soon to be called the 'Winter King,' was decisively defeated. This battle was fought on a Sunday, and the gospel for the day contained the text: 'Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.' It was prophetic of the inner meaning of the war about to devastate central Europe.

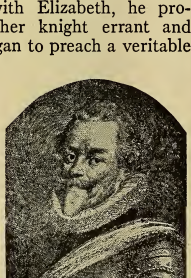
The attack began about midday. The right League square, under its Spanish commander Verdugo, advanced with its bastions of musketeers 'three pike-lengths' ahead; then they fired a volley at 'four pikes' range (about twenty-five paces) and charged forward 'with heads down.' The left square of the Bohemian army broke to the rear, whereupon Verdugo turned against the next square, protecting his rear and right flank by cavalry and the rear bastions of musketeers. The rest of the League army then advanced in échelon and broke up the Bohemian squares one by one. But for a cavalry charge headed by the son of Christian of Anhalt, the troops in the second line did nothing to support the first, and were also destroyed. The battle was over in an hour, Prague was entered, and Frederick deposed.

This decisive defeat, followed by the defection of Bethlen Gabor and the approach of Spinola, broke up the Protestant Union, now terrified by the vision of an all-powerful Catholic emperor and a strengthened Bavaria. The war was virtually at an end, when James I recalled from Vienna his ambassador, Lord Digby, who, on his way home, while passing through the Upper Palatinate, induced Count Mansfeld to break off negotiations with Ferdinand. Frederick, on learning of this, disguised himself as a servant of Sir Francis Nethersole, one of King James's agents, and joined Mansfeld in the Palatinate. Here, after a skirmish with Tilly near Wiesloch, Mansfeld joined forces with the margrave of Baden and was followed up and defeated by Tilly near Wimpfen.

The Protestant cause was now in desperate straits, when the beauty of the deposed queen of Bohemia powerfully influenced matters. Christian of Halberstadt, who had recently joined the forces of Mansfeld, had been decisively beaten by Tilly at Höchst in July, 1622. This in no way discouraged him, for, falling madly in love with Elizabeth, he proclaimed himself her knight errant and champion, and began to preach a veritable







NOTABLE MILITARY FIGURES IN THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

Ambrose Spinola (center) invested the whole of his private fortune in the military service of Spain, maintaining a large force at his own expense. In the Thirty Years' War he commanded the Spanish troops in the Palatinate, but his most conspicuous triumph was the capture of Breda in 1625. Christian of Anhalt (right) commanded the Protestant army at the battle of the White Hills, his decisive defeat leading to the defection of Bethlen Gabor (left), the Hungarian king, from the Union.

Engravings, left, unsigned; center, by Hendrik Hondius; right, by Lucas Kilian

crusade, while simultaneously he plundered the countryside. In 1623, whilst Mansfeld was in England recruiting a new army, Christian was again decisively beaten by Tilly at Stadtlohn; but though he lost battle after battle, nothing could damp his ardor for the cause of the dethroned princess.

Had it not been for Mansfeld and Christian, the war might well have ended after Höchst, but the Dutch, hard pressed at Bergen-op-Zoom by Spinola, asked these two to relieve the city. This they did, and then marched into the rich country of Friesland, where a threat of a visitation caused the princes of the Lower Saxon Circle to join them.

In concert with France, James I re-equipped Mansfeld, but in 1625 his army perished of fever and ill-discipline in the Low Countries. France was paralyzed by a Huguenot rising, and the Netherlands were still at grips with Spain, consequently the only member of the Alliance free to intervene in Germany was Christian IV of Denmark. Desirous of extending his power while Sweden was still at war with Poland, he accepted the offer of the Lower Saxon Circle to champion the Protestant cause; money was to be provided by England. In the spring of 1625, Tilly advanced to meet him. He had with him the army of the League, but in strength he considered it insufficient, so he asked the emperor for more troops. Ferdinand had neither money nor men, his small army being occupied in Hungary, fighting Bethlen Gabor. In his perplexity he turned to Wallenstein, duke of Friedland. Wallenstein at once proposed to raise troops at his own expense, and having in a remarkably short time equipped 20,000 men, in September, 1625, he outmarched the king of Denmark, and united his forces with those of Tilly at Lauenstein in Hanover.

Christian IV, having now been joined by Mansfeld and Christian of Halberstadt, had at his disposal some 60,000 troops. His plan was to oppose Tilly in person; Christian of Brunswick was to enter Westphalia; Duke John Ernest of Saxe-Weimar was to operate against Wallenstein in Saxony, and Mansfeld was to join Bethlen Gabor and threaten Vienna. Though this extensive dispersion of force was unsound, it was probably dictated by the difficulty of maintaining so large an army by plunder. The first move was made by Mansfeld who, in April, 1626, attacked Wallenstein at the bridge of Dessau and was beaten. Withdrawing the remnants of his army he advanced into Silesia to join Bethlen Gabor, but Wallenstein followed him closely and forced Gabor to come to terms with the emperor. Towards the

WIFE OF THE WINTER KING

Elizabeth, wife of the hapless Frederick V of Bohemia, was the eldest daughter of James I of England. Fired by her beauty, which this painting by Derick reveals, Christian of Halberstadt vigorously championed her cause.

Hampton Court Palace

close of the year Mansfeld fell ill; and as he felt his end approaching he ordered his servant to dress him in full armor and hold him upright. Thus he died, standing erect, and a little time after died his companion, Christian of Halberstadt. Christian IV next launched an offensive against Tilly, and forced him to fall back.

Reinforced by part of Wallenstein's army, Tilly advanced against him and

defeated him at Lutter-am-Barenberge in Brunswick, in which battle the Danish infantry were totally destroyed. Wallenstein now joined him, and the whole of Slesvig-Holstein was overrun.

Wallenstein realized full well the importance of the Baltic; he already saw an approaching danger to the Empire in the person of Gustavus Adolphus, and consequently he was anxious to conclude peace with Denmark, which was accomplished at Lübeck in May, 1629; the terms of the agreement being very favorable to the Danes. In reward, the emperor gave him Mecklenburg. Free of Christian IV, Wallenstein now systematically overran Mecklenburg and Pomerania, seizing port after port so that he might gain command of the Baltic. His dream was a united Germany, free in conscience and obedient to the emperor. This aim terrified the bishops and princes of the League, who saw in it the aggrandisement of the emperor at their expense the end of their special privileges.

CHRISTIAN IV OF DENMARK

This engraving by Hondius of a portrait from life by the Dutch painter Rombouts gives an impressive idea of King Christian IV of Denmark, whose defeat by Tilly at Lutter-am-Barenberge in 1626 virtually ended armed opposition to Tilly and Wallenstein until the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus.

British Museum

Nevertheless Wallenstein was firm in his purpose. He spread his forces along the coast, 'for his united Germany could never be more than a dream until the possibility of Danish and Swedish invasions was removed.' Stralsund refused to admit his soldiers, so he laid siege to the fortress in February, 1628. This small city was one of the Hanseatic ports, and was under the feeble protection of the duke of Pomerania. In July the garrison was reinforced by Gustavus Adolphus, and the siege was abandoned in the following month.

In 1629 the emperor committed the egregious folly of publishing his 'Edict of Restitution' by which a hundred and fifty of the northern Protestant holdings were given back to the Catholic church. The Protestants were now convinced that in Germany one ruler meant one religion, and as Richelieu writes in his Memoirs, 'all these insulted and pillaged princes looked towards the king of Sweden as sailors look to the north.' The duke of Bavaria, the elector of Saxony, and others, as well as the pope, did not want an all-powerful Empire, so they compelled Ferdinand to assemble the Diet at Ratisbon, at which they persuaded him to dismiss Wallenstein, the instrument of his aggrandisement.

Wallenstein accepted his dismissal with-

out comment, for he saw clearly that the approaching advent of Gustavus would necessitate his recall, and that then he would find a wider scope for his ambitions.

With Gustavus Adolphus an entirely new military dispensation took form. Though not the first, he was one of the first to realize the true powers of the musket and the cannon. He replaced the slow movements and heavy battalions of Spain by rapid marches and organized groups of men of all arms. The Swedish character had been recreated by the Reformation, consequently he based his military discipline on religion, for in faith he saw the foundations of the highest courage. As one writer says, 'dashing courage was precisely what was wanted in an age of Spanish captains.' Being king and commander-in-chief gave him a great advantage over his rivals, nevertheless his main superiority lay in daring to change methods which had become traditional. In his famous Articles of War he writes: 'The exactness of ancient discipline has almost been forgotten among the troops'—and by discipline he means tactical flexibility; so in place of going back to the Greek phalanx he made the Roman legion his model. He based his organization on movement rather than on mass.

CAVALRY THREE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

This picture showing the equipment of mounted troops in the seventeenth century, taken from a work published at Frankfort-on-Main in 1616.

From Wollhausen, 'Kriegskunst zu Pferdt'

Having instilled discipline and moral he introduced an astonishing number of improvements in weapons, equipment and organization. He reduced infantry regiments from 2,000-3,000 to 1,008 men, of whom 576 were musketeers and 432 pikemen, and each regiment he divided into eight companies. He lightened the musket and replaced the rest by a 'hog's-bristle,' a spiked support which could also be used as an obstacle to break up charging cavalry. He introduced the cartridge and so rendered fire more rapid. Though he kept his pikemen armored, he removed all armor except the helmet from his musketeers. He reduced the length of the pike from 15-18 to 11 feet.

The cavalry regiments he organized in eight troops of from 56 to 72 men each;

CUMBERSOME FIREARMS OF THE EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

These are two of numerous figures drawn to illustrate a hand-book of firearms and other weapons published in 1609. They show a musketeer putting the charge of powder into the muzzle of his arquebus and marching with the match lighted and with the fork on which to rest the firearm when taking aim in his right hand.

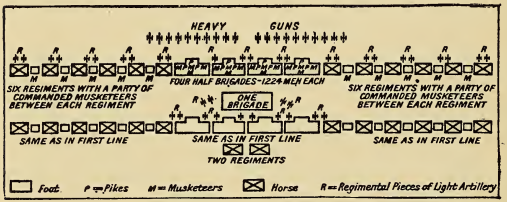
From 'Waffenhandlung nach der Ordnung des Moritzen, Printzen zu Oranien'

he replaced skirmishing with the pistol by the true charge in line, boot to boot. His cavalry consisted of cuirassiers and dragoons; the former were partially armored and carried a long sword and two wheel-lock pistols; they charged three deep and at a hand gallop. The dragoons were armed with a musket, sword and axe. The Swedish artillery he completely remodelled, and reduced the various types of guns. This greatly facilitated ammunition supply. Light leather field guns were introduced in 1628, but a year or two later were replaced by light, four-pounder battalion pieces of iron. He established field hospitals, made extensive use of spies, and never shunned winter fighting.

As a tactician his genius lay in grasping the nature of the changes introduced by gunpowder, and in combining the powers of his various weapons, so that each made good the deficits in the other. After his death his art endured for a while under such able leaders as Banér and Torstensen, then it became rigid until Carnot and others revitalized and developed it during the French Revolution.

Besides the Spanish and Swedish methods of war there was also the system of the condottieri which, sinking into partisan warfare, made the Thirty Years' War such a blot on military history. Mercenaries served only for pay or plunder, and if those who hired their services could not pay them, then either pillage or desertions followed. Mercenary prisoners were looked upon as reinforcements.

As the war proceeded, to the strife of organized armies was added the horrors of a war of starving brigands, who slew and robbed friend and foe, Catholic or Protestant. Cannibalism became rife, and even cemeteries were dug up for food. It was a curious and degraded decline. The feudal barons of the Middle Ages gave way to the military adventurers of the sixteenth century; these evolved into the mercenary leaders of the Thirty Years' War, whose troops, in their turn, frayed away into bands of brigands and footpads. Yet in spite of this tactical degradation the art of Gustavus survived, and even today it still forms the foundations of warfare.



GUSTAVUS' BATTLE ARRAY AT BREITENFELD

This diagram shows Gustavus Adolphus's disposition of his troops at the battle of Breitenfeld, in 1631. Heavy artillery in front opened the battle, and behind them infantry were ranged in two lines with four half-brigades of foot in the center and six regiments of horse on both flanks.

From Fletcher, 'Gustavus Adolphus'

The Peace of Lübeck and the Diet of Ratisbon introduced a new problem, namely, that of the balance of power between European nations which, from now onwards, began to grip the entire strategy of the war. It was not until this happened, and the war had become, as Geijer observes, 'the common concern of Europe and mankind,' that Gustavus determined to invade the Empire. His main object was to establish a Swedish bastion on the south of the Baltic, so that Swedish command of this inland sea might be maintained. On June 24, 1630, just one hundred years after the delivery of the Augsburg Confession, he landed his army at Usedom in Pomerania and at once set to work to establish a strong base of operations, to gain the hegemony of the Baltic, and to win over the more important Protestant princes, for without their support he could not securely advance into Germany. By the end of February, 1631, he had captured eighty cities and strongholds in Pomerania and Mecklenburg; but he could not obtain permission from the elector John George for the passage of his troops through Saxony. Tilly, who had concentrated

his forces at Frankfort on the Oder, destroyed a Swedish garrison at New Brandenburg, then, in April, he appeared before Magdeburg and laid siege to the city.

To relieve Magdeburg it was necessary for Gustavus to obtain free passage through Küstrin, or Wittenberg, or Dessau, but the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony refused it. Further it was clear to Gustavus that, should he force these passages, the two electors might possibly turn against him, and cut him off from his base. To draw Tilly from Magdeburg, Gustavus marched on Frankfort, but Tilly was not to be baulked of his prey, and on May 10 the city was stormed.

From Magdeburg Tilly turned on Hesse-Cassel whose ruler had declared for Gustavus. Near Halle, on July 10, 1631, he attacked the king's camp and was severely repulsed. Then he invaded Saxony and so terrified the pusillanimous John George that this elector placed the whole of his forces and resources at the disposal of Gustavus, who, in August, moved with 27,000 men on Leipzig, crossing the Elbe at Wittenberg on September 4. At Leipzig he came up with Tilly, and, on September 7, on the same ground which witnessed Napoleon's defeat in 1813, was fought the epoch-making battle of Breitenfeld.

Tilly drew up his army, 32,000 strong, in one or two lines (the exact disposition is not known) of bastioned squares. He placed his cavalry on the wings; the right being under Pappenheim and the left under Fürstenberg. His intention was to outflank the Swedes and Saxons as his line of battle was the longer. In the center he took up his position in the midst of his old-fashioned heavy armed Walloon troops. His heavy artillery he posted between his right wing and center, and his light artillery in front of his center. Facing his right were the Saxons under Arnim and John George, and on their right was the Swedish army.

The battle was opened by an artillery

PERILS OF TRAVEL ON THE BRIGAND-INFESTED HIGHWAY

This is another of Callot's engravings; the signature in the corner is that of the publisher, Israel. Mercenary troops, if unpaid, deserted wholesale and resorted to simple brigandage, robbing and killing anyone who crossed their path. An attack on a wagon by a gang of such desperadoes is the subject of this picture. As time went on the gangs dispersed but individual footpads remained, and long after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War travel on the Continent was dangerous.

From Callot, 'Les misères et les mal-heurs de la guerre,' 1633

EVE OF THE CROWNING HORROR OF AN AGE OF ATROCITIES: TILLY BESIEGING MAGDEBURG

No city suffered more appalling disaster for its Protestant sympathies in the Thirty Years' War than did Magdeburg, capital of Saxony and a flourishing commercial town. It successfully withstood a seven months' siege by Wallenstein in 1629, but fell before the attacks of Tilly in May, 1631. This engraving shows Tilly's troops besieging the city which he afterwards sacked and practically burnt to the ground. The cathedral, however, escaped the holocaust. Twenty thousand inhabitants, regardless of age or sex, were mercilessly butchered, and the orgy of cruelty which was carried on for five days shocked Europe.

Engraving by Matthew Merian in the 'Theatrum Europaeum'

bombardment, the Swedish guns firing three shots to the imperialists' one. Pappenheim's cavalry were so galled by the fire that, without waiting for orders, he charged forward, whereupon Tilly exclaimed: 'The fellows have robbed me of my honor and glory and the Emperor of his empire and his people.' Raked by volleys of musketry, and charged in front by Johan Banér, Pappenheim's cavalry was broken and driven towards Halle. To extricate his disobedient subordinate, Tilly advanced one of his squares, which was promptly cut to pieces. Simultaneously Fürstenberg charged the Saxons, who were in a short time completely routed. The whole of the imperialist center then advanced and attempted to take Horn's left wing in flank. Horn at once countered by changing front and, reinforced by the brigades of the second line, he held his ground until Gustavus was able to collect his victorious right wing and charge Tilly's center in rear. A desperate struggle now followed, in which some 7,000 to 10,000 imperialists were slain. Tilly, wounded in three places, cut his way out at the head of 600 Walloons. He lost all his artillery and 106 standards.

The battle won, Oxenstierna, the Swedish chancellor, urged Gustavus to march on Vienna, and had he done so the result would in all probability have been an unconditional peace. But the king saw quite clearly that such a peace could lead to no solid security. His supreme object was to consolidate the Protestant states under himself as a counter-force to the emperor, and not merely to bring the war to a temporary conclusion. Without this counter-force there could be no permanent peace. In place of marching on Vienna, Gustavus led his army towards the river Main, so that by holding this central line of communications he might control the surrounding country, and when Nuremberg wished to remain neutral he proclaimed that on no account would he tolerate neutrality amongst Protestants. This utterance alone epitomizes the policy which governed his strategy.

In October and November, Würzburg and Rothenburg surrendered to Gustavus, and Tilly, now recovered from his wounds and at the head of a fresh army, marched on Nuremberg in order to draw the Swedes from the Rhine, which he was successful in doing. On April 5, 1632, Tilly opposed Gustavus on the river Lech, was driven back and mortally wounded.

The death of Tilly left Gustavus unopposed by any general of note. Ferdinand was inclined towards peace, but the king's terms were the revocation of the Edict of Restitution, and freedom of religion throughout the Empire. Such a surrender of principles the emperor could not accept, so the war continued.

The battle of Breitenfeld, the death of Tilly, and the formation by Gustavus in South Germany of a strong Protestant Union, known as the 'Corpus Evangelicorum,' compelled Ferdinand to turn to Wallenstein and seek his help. This general, shortly after the battle of Breitenfeld, had offered his services to Gustavus, but they were refused. He determined now to assist his old master, but only on his own terms. He demanded that he should be generalissimo not only of the emperor but of the whole house of Austria and the Spanish crown; that the emperor was not to be present with the army or assume command of it; that he, Wallenstein, was to receive an hereditary province of Austria, and the seignory of all the states he might conquer; and that the emperor's pardon was not to be valid without his confirmation.

Ferdinand reluctantly agreed and, in all but name, Wallenstein became dictator. In a remarkably short time he organized his army, and marched on Prague, which capitulated to him on May 14, 1632. Next, having driven the Saxons out of Bohemia, he marched on Augsburg, which had been taken by Gustavus. At this juncture the king of Denmark, fearing the increasing power of Sweden, offered to mediate between Gustavus and the Empire. Richelieu, in his turn, interceded on behalf of Maximilian, but the king refused to listen to any terms until the Protestant states were secured against a counter-reformation. This action again shows clearly the political object which controlled his strategy.

From Augsburg, Gustavus marched on Ingolstadt, and Wallenstein on Passau. From Ingolstadt the king advanced on Munich and received 30,000 dollars for the ransom of the city, and thus restored the finances of his army. Hearing that the Saxons had been driven out of

Bohemia, in June he moved on Nuremberg, at which city he soon found himself confronted by Wallenstein. The Czech, realizing the danger of a battle with Gustavus, determined on a campaign of famine, so he entrenched himself a few miles from the city. For six weeks no action took place, both armies losing thousands through sickness, 'no enemy,' as the Swedish Intelligencer says, 'being so horrible to brave spirits, or so weakening to able bodies, as the long lying in one place, and the ordinary diseases of a winter leaguer.'

Driven to extremities, Gustavus assaulted Wallenstein's camp, and was repulsed; thereupon he abandoned Nuremberg and marched towards Saxony, Wallenstein proceeding to Leipzig, near which city on November 16, 1632, the great battle of Lützen was fought.

Both armies had suffered enormous losses at Nuremberg, Gustavus losing 20,000 men and Wallenstein no fewer than 36,000 men. The armies which now faced each other were comparatively small. Gustavus had about 18,000 men and Wallenstein 25,000. Pappenheim at the head of 8,000 was at the time away, but was at once recalled to join the imperial army. Wallenstein formed his foot into five bastioned squares, four in a lozenge formation with cuirassiers and light cavalry on their left. On their right was the fifth square flanked by cavalry. Seven guns were placed in front of the

GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS' GREAT VICTORY AT BREITENFELD

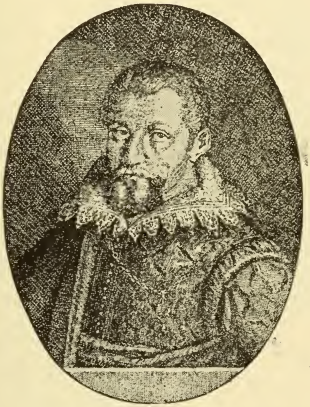
This contemporary German engraving shows Gustavus Adolphus between two of his leading officers watching the progress of the battle of Breitenfeld. The Swedish army is on the right of the picture drawn up in the formation shown elsewhere. In the center the artillery bombardment is proceeding and on the left Tilly's cavalry are making a charge. The Swedish casualties numbered about 6,000, the imperialist about 10,000; and Tilly's army lost all its guns and was virtually destroyed.

From Winter, 'Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges'

lozenge, and fourteen on Windmill Hill. The position was strong defensively, as the right of the army rested on Lützen, the left on a small canal, and in front ran the Leipzig road, the ditches of which Wallenstein entrenched and filled with musketeers.

Late on November 15 Gustavus approached. He formed two lines of battle each consisting of four infantry brigades both flanked by cavalry with detachments of musketeers between the squadrons. His intention was to attack before day-break on the following morning, but a dense fog led him to delay his advance.

The battle opened by a cannonade, the guns firing bags of musket balls. At ten o'clock the Swedish infantry moved forward. A hot fight then followed; the ditch was crossed, and two of Wallenstein's squares were thrown into confusion. Pappenheim now arrived at the head of some 1,500 cavalry and part of his infantry. 'Where is the king commanding?" he cried, and a moment later fell mortally wounded. The Swedish center was now pushed back, whereupon Gustavus, at the head of the Småland regiment of cavalry, rode forward with the infantry into the fog. He was at once struck by a pistol shot in the arm and by a musket-ball in the back, and rolled half-fainting from his horse. In a moment he was surrounded by imperialist cuirassiers, one of whom asked him his name. Whereupon he answered: 'I am the king of Sweden, who do seal the Religion and Liberty of the German nation with my blood.' Hearing which the imperialists drove their swords through his body.



PROTESTANT ELECTOR

John George I (1585-1656), elector of Saxony, was a Lutheran by faith, and joined Gustavus Adolphus in 1631. In 1635 his negotiations with Ferdinand II culminated in the peace of Prague.

Engraving by de Passe

The king now dead, General Kniphausen rode up to Duke Bernard and suggested a withdrawal. 'Retreat!' cried the duke. 'The time for that is past. It is vengeance now!' Merging the second line with the first, he led the whole Swedish army forward, now maddened by the king's death, and retook Wallenstein's guns, while Torstensen's artillery plied the great squares with deadly effect. As night began to fall, Pappenheim's main force of infantry arrived, but before the battalions could deploy they were swept away in the rout of the imperial army. The king's death was avenged, and some 10,000 men lay dead and dying on the field.

The death of Gustavus Adolphus definitely changed the character of the war. From a religious contest it became outwardly a gladiatorial encounter, the prize being the aggrandisement of individual generals; inwardly it became a struggle between France and Spain for the hegemony of Europe. Bernard, duke of Saxe-Weimar, succeeded to the command of the Swedes, and the Protestants, to strengthen their organization, in 1633 formed a new combination known as The League of Heilbronn. This League sought the aid of France, and from now onwards Richelieu's policy was to support all electors, whether Catholics or Protestants, against the emperor, for if Ferdinand could be coerced, Spain would be left single-handed for France to deal with. Wallenstein wanted peace, but the emperor, determining on continuing the war in alliance with Spain, for the second time dismissed him, and was party to his murder at Eger in 1634. With Wallenstein died all possibility of unity, Protestant or Catholic.

The war which was now to be waged between France and Spain found its cen-

ter of gravity in the Rhine valley, as this river formed a connecting link between the Spanish possessions in Italy and those in the Netherlands. War having been declared on Spain, Richelieu directed the strategy of the war with a skill

KARL GUSTAV WRANGEL

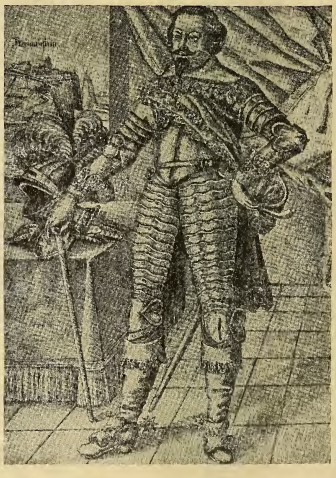
This engraving after the painting by Matthew Merian the Younger shows the famous Swedish General Wrangel, who marched into Bavaria in 1646 in co-operation with his ally, the great French Marshal Turenne.

transcending anything as yet accomplished by the greatest generals of the period. His problem was to isolate the Spanish Netherlands so that he might concentrate a superior force in those regions. He assembled an army in Upper Alsace to attack the Spaniards in Franche Comté, and with another he occupied Lorraine. Henri de Rohan he sent to the Valtelline and the Milanese, while Bernard was to operate along the Rhine and the Main. Thus having severed the Netherlands from Italy, he sent 30,000 men to join Frederick Henry of Orange in order to crush the Cardinal Infante.

Yet in spite of the fact that in 1636 the army of France numbered 200,000 men, means were insufficient to crush the Spanish in Italy and the Netherlands. Richelieu's mistake was that he attempted too much.

While Richelieu was extending his net, John George, reinforced by an imperialist army 30,000 strong, attacked 22,000 Swedes under Banér at Wittstock. He attempted simultaneously a frontal and rear attack; but Banér, gauging his intentions, rapidly entrenched his front, and then threw the bulk of his army on to the enveloping columns, inflicting 19,000 casualties on the combined Saxon and imperial forces. This brilliant victory reconsolidated the Protestant princes, who had lost heart after Bernard's defeat at Nördlingen. Meanwhile, the Cardinal Infante, freed by a retreat of the Dutch, was joined by a fresh army under Johann of Werth, the most renowned cavalry general of his age. These two generals invaded France, captured Corbie and advanced to Compiègne. Though Paris was thrown into a panic, the Cardinal Infante missed his opportunity, for he hesitated to push on to the capital, fearing that the Dutch might invade Belgium.

In 1637, the French gained no marked advantage over the Spaniards in Italy,



CATHOLIC CAVALRY GENERAL

Johann count von Werth (c. 1595-1652) won wide repute for his genius as a commander of cavalry. He was conspicuous for his services in the great victory of Nordlingen in 1634.

Engraving by Paul Furst, 1637

and in the following year their efforts unsuccessful and peace negotiations were discussed. The war now degenerated into a series of operations in which victory went now to one side now to the other, and which were mutually destructive to France and Spain, and devastating to Germany. In 1639, Bernard, who had become a thorn in Richelieu's side, died suddenly; he was probably poisoned at the cardinal's instigation. He was succeeded by Banér, and later by Torstensen, Gustavus's great artillery commander.

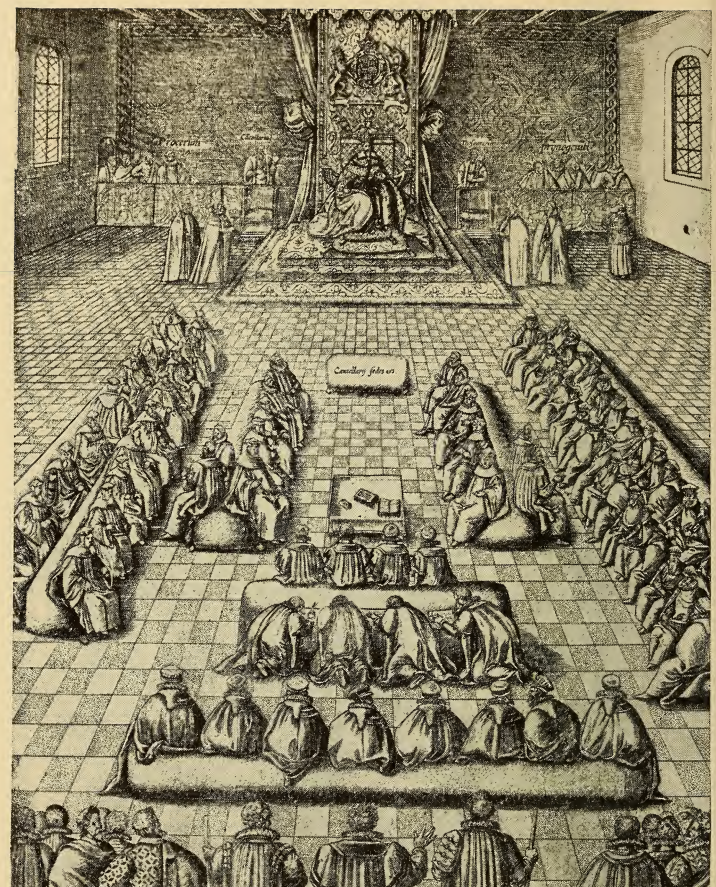
In November he defeated the imperialists under Piccolomini in the second battle of Breitenfeld with enormous loss, and in the following year, in fifteen or sixteen days, he marched from the Oder to the Trave, a distance of 500 miles. Later on, in 1645, he defeated the imperialists at the battle of Jankau in which 4,000 were left dead on the field. Shortly afterwards he relinquished his command, having earned among his troops, from the rapidity of his movements, the nickname og 'Blixten,' the Swedish for 'lightning.'

Before the next campaign opened, in 1642, Louis XIII of France and Richelieu were dead, and the last lap of the war was entered. The young duc d'Enghien took command of the northern French army. Learning that Rocroi had been invested, with utmost swiftness he marched to its relief. At Rocroi the Spanish under Melo were destroyed, losing 8,500 in killed and 7,000 prisoners—'two hundred and sixty colors and standards went to grace Notre-Dame.'

During the following three years the war dragged on. In 1644 the Bavarians were defeated by the French at Freiburg; in 1645 Torstensen, as already related, defeated the imperialists at Jankau, and the same year Enghien defeated Mercy at the second battle of Nördlingen, but only after losing 5,500 men out of a total force of 7,000. These terrible losses were having a pronounced influence on tactics. Not only were soldiers becoming unobtainable, but the more able generals were beginning to realize that it was often more profitable to manoeuvre an enemy into a devastated district, and so destroy him by starvation, than to attempt to defeat him in pitched battle. Amongst these must be reckoned Turenne, who was rapidly rising into fame.

In 1646, this general, with Wrangel, the Swedish commander, transferred the war to Bavaria, which was fairly prosperous since it had not been overrun for eleven years. There by devastating the country they forced Maximilian to terms, and an armistice was arranged. In 1647, however, Maximilian was reconciled to the emperor. The following year Turenne and Wrangel, having refitted their forces, drove the imperialists and the Bavarians, 'whose 30,000 combatants were accompanied by a horde of nearly 130,000 hangers-on—men, women and children,' to the Danube. At Zusmarshausen, in May, the enemy's rearguard was destroyed, but at length the French and Swedes were halted by Piccolomini on the Inn and driven back to the Isar. Meanwhile, the Swedish general, Königsmarck, entered Bohemia and laid siege to Prague, and Condé defeated the Spaniards at Lens. Before Königsmarck could assault the Bohemian capital news came of peace, and on October 24, 1648, the memorable Peace of Westphalia was signed at Münster.

The Thirty Years' War had a distinct influence on tactics and military organization; it, in fact, laid the foundations of the art of war as it was known in 1914.



THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I

This engraving from R. Glover's 'Nobilitas Politica et Civilis,' 1608, shows James I enthroned in the House of Lords, and is probably the earliest authentic representation of such a meeting. Earls, barons and bishops are grouped round the Chancellor's seat and the masters of Chancery and the clerks are ranged in rows of four immediately facing his Majesty. In the foreground the Commons are seen separated from the Lords by a barrier, and the central figure in their midst is the Speaker.

British Museum

THE RISE OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

ENGLAND'S CONSTITUTIONAL CHECK UPON ABSOLUTE MONARCHY AND ITS IMPERFECT ANALOGUES IN FRANCE GERMANY AND SPAIN

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WE need no more judicial statement of the claim of Parliament to be the directing member of the body politic than the words of James Whitelock, spoken in the year of 1610 in the House of Commons: "It will then be easily proved that the power of the King in Parliament is greater than his power out of Parliament; and doth rule and control it. . . . For in Acts of Parliament, be they laws, grounds or whatsoever else, the Act and power is the King's but with the assent of the Lords and Commons, which maketh it the most sovereign and supreme power above all and controllable by none." They represent the conclusions of moderate Englishmen, who, looking for some practical means by which they could safeguard their estates and persons against the royal exactions, mysteriously anticipated that notion of sovereignty afterwards made articulate by Hobbes and later again, when the conclusion was proved, honorably reinstated in the argument for Parliamentary sovereignty.

The assertion of the right of a people in representative assembly to limit the action of royal power was new only in its method of expression. The English Parliament had by slow stages become representative of the interest of the whole nation, but it had its roots far back in times when, though representative only of a privileged class, it had successfully withstood mischievous government. Through the centuries which we designate the Middle Ages Parliament gradually acquired its national representative character; we see it, through its lower house, establishing a certain measure of control over taxation, protesting, tentatively at first, its right to initiate legislation, and finally claiming immunity from interference when engaged in pursuing the business of debate.

Such a conception of a monarchy restrained from tyranny by means of a national assembly increasingly assertive of popular rights is subject to the qualification that the power of Parliament, functioning through the predominance of the House of Commons, was of slow and insidious growth.

THE active partner in medieval times was the House of Lords—the feudal barons, who at times split into factions to support or oppose a weak or unpopular king. If the opposing party were sufficiently strong it might secure a change of ruler. The fact that the representatives of the counties and boroughs, as often as not, were associated with such action was then of little importance, though invaluable as a precedent later on. It cannot be repeated too often that the admission of the representatives of the Commons to the feudal assembly was but one example of the opportunism of the Angevin kings, who had to devise some method of securing an additional revenue. The Commons had but a small share in the deliberations of the assembly—even their petitions were likely to be forgotten when a grant of money had once been made. It was not until the Wars of the Roses were raging, and a faction of the baronage had need of national support, that the House of Commons took on the semblance of its later legislative character.

Under the Lancastrian kings the Commons represented a power that was not to be despised. It is significant that when Henry IV named his ministers in Parliament one-third of them were members of the House of Commons. A weak House

of Commons needed strengthening if it was to be an effective support to the crown, and the Lancastrians, in conceding to the lower house the right to control national expenditure and allowing them the hitherto royal privilege of introducing legislative measures, laid the foundation

CHAMPION OF COMMON LAW

Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke (1552-1634), repeatedly opposed James I's exaggerated claims of royal prerogative and disputed the king's right to legislate by proclamations. He was removed from office in 1616.
National Portrait Gallery, London

upon which the claim of Parliamentary omnipotence was afterwards based.

The Yorkist kings did not need the support of the House of Commons, and they added nothing to its constitutional stature. As to how much was added to the effective power of Parliament during the century of Tudor rule there is little agreement among historians, but we may take the view that it ceased to be the tool of a faction and, although manifestly loyal, developed a will not always in harmony with that of the sovereign. When in the early years of the seventeenth century battle is at last joined between the king and the Parliament, the situation is removed from the simple medieval consideration of a struggle between two opposing forces for the supreme power in the state. The circumstances of the time were vastly different from those in which Henry Tudor assumed the crown. The House of Stuart claimed the throne by right of descent, and its security was not threatened by a turbulent baronage. The middle classes had prospered exceedingly during a century of strong government, and political power had passed almost unnoticed into their hands. Henry VIII was sufficiently adroit to cloak his most oppressive actions with the forms of law and, finding his general policy approved and himself a popular hero, he allowed his Parliament to share the responsibility for his despotism.

Nor were Tudor Parliaments tractable because of weakness or because they were dominated by the sovereign, but because they were slow to shake off the remembrance of the past anarchy. When Parliament consented to remit the debts of Henry VIII, when it condemned his enemies by attainder and allowed him to regulate the succession, it was consciously serving the interests of the nation. If King Henry exploited the rich nobles and merchants by means of benevolences and loans, taxation fell more lightly that way upon the ordinary folk. When Parliament abetted Henry in his extension of the legal conception of treason, the acts were directed against the class responsible for the lawlessness of the preceding century. In conniving at the regulation of the succession it was, at least, providing for the maintenance of stable government. Men dreaded a return to the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses.

Less plain sailing had the last of the Tudors. Parliament had become a permanent institution. The Commons had learned to act together; they had on several occasions—chiefly when their purse had been assaulted—ventured to oppose the monarch. The New Learning had permeated downwards from the select few, and the whole nation was profoundly affected. The religious reformation had ceased to be a political expedient by means of which the country had been juggled into the forefront of European politics. Religion, learning and politics were coming into close relations.

Such high notions of law as had rendered effective service to Henry VIII were, with the accession of his younger daughter, capable of rendering equally effective service to a strong and independent House of Commons. It is a fair assumption that if the dread anticipation of foreign invasion and the re-establishment of an unpopular religious system had not been present during the major part of the reign, not even Elizabeth Tudor's tact would have prevented a more definite assertion of Parliamentary rights. As it was, the good will of the queen and the conviction that she had the interests of her country next her heart did not prevent the Commons adopting an attitude of criticism and control hitherto unprecedented. We see them seeking for the first time to take a hand in the conduct of foreign affairs, and at the same time exercising an ever tighter control over the royal devices for raising additional revenue.

With the coming of the Stuarts there were injected into English politics distinct and conflicting theories of government. The Tudors had not been theorists; they were too wary to dissipate their popularity by theories of abstract rights; they occupied their energies in governing and in manoeuvring to settle any difficulties that might arise in a way favorable to themselves.

King James, however, was no realist after the Tudor manner, but a doctrinaire, and he answered the theory of the Commons with a theory of his own. According to the hypothesis of the Commons, Parliament, consisting of the King, Lords and Commons, was the sole agency for making laws, and the House of Commons was the sole agent for originating a vote of supply. The king must choose ministers who do not violate the wishes of an elected House of Commons, and the ministers must be punished if they break the laws. The government is a government controlled by law, and, on the other hand, Parliament is the only agency capable of changing the law.

As set forth by James and Charles, the theory of divine right shocked the sensibilities of the English nation. It was a novel doctrine, and it appeared dangerous and revolutionary. It meant that the king was free to rule without a Parliament. Such a claim made possible an appeal, with effect, to history by the supporters of the Parliament. No king had ever attempted to rule without Parliament. Parliament had more than once legalized the removal of one king and the substitution of another. Even the Stuart kings relied in some part for their title on Parliamentary sanction, and when these contentions were for the first time uppermost in the minds of Englishmen there arose a strong national tendency to look on the elected part of Parliament as peculiarly representative of the British nation. It was of immense advantage to the Commons that in the protracted contest they appeared to be the champions of the people against an arbitrary government.

The time is, then, ripe for the promulgation of the doctrine of Parliamentary sovereignty. In Elizabeth's time Sir Thomas Smith had laid it down that the King in Parliament was absolutely supreme, above the king and above the law. But Sir Thomas must be numbered amongst the moderns who emphasized the judicial nature of Parliamentary institutions. In claiming sovereignty for the King in Parliament he was but insisting on the superiority of the law and the courts and introducing to his contemporaries the idea of a fundamental law which bound the king no less than his subjects.

Maitland bids us note three contestants for sovereignty—the King, the King in Parliament, and the law. King James is from the first opposed not only by his Parliaments but by a champion of the common law in the person of Coke, his Chief Justice. Coke claimed that the judges had the power to declare a statute void if it were against natural law or if it were directly antagonistic to the king's prerogative, and it seems that his reasoning was generally accepted by the lawyers of his time. Some statutes he held to be part of the fundamental law and so sovereign over king and King in Parliament.

This was not a claim for Parliamentary supremacy, but a statement that some of the laws of Parliament incorporated natural justice and could not be touched even by repeal or by the royal prerogative. Soon Coke was involved in diffi-

culty with the king. He was instructed not to proceed with the hearing of a case in which the prerogative was in question, but refused to be intimidated and was dismissed from the Bench. Four years later he appeared in Parliament as a leader of the party opposed to the king and played his part in what was, in its ultimate conception, "a struggle of the Common Law against the King."

Coming now to the time of stress, no sooner was James firmly established on the throne than the question of the legislative value of ordinances was brought before the courts. Elizabeth had issued proclamations and James hoped to follow the example of his predecessor. He proposed, in particular, to regulate by ordinance the building of houses in London, and in the same way he forbade the manufacture of starch from wheat.

On consulting Chief Justice Coke and certain other judges as to the legality of his proclamations, he received from them a clear and resolute opinion that such proclamations were illegal; that the king could not, by his prerogative, create a new offence by proclamation or in any way alter existing laws. It was declared that the king by his prerogative could admonish his subjects to hold to the laws and that neglect of a proclamation would aggravate the offence. Further, it was declared illegal for the king to punish a subject in the Court of Star Chamber for an offence which was not punishable in the ordinary courts. These opinions gave weight to the contention of the Parliamentary party in the House of Commons, but Coke's place on the Bench was filled by a Chief Justice subservient to the king.

It was not yet disputed that the king had some residuum of power which might make certain of his ordinances valid. The courts had only recently pronounced in his favor in the matter of indirect taxation. Failing to get adequate supplies from his first Parliament, he had followed the example of former monarchs and collected a tax on currants over and above the tax that was set on them by the Statute of Tonnage and Poundage. A merchant of the name of Bates refused payment and his case was brought before the Court of Exchequer, where he put in the plea that such an imposition was illegal without the consent of Parliament. The judges decided in favor of the king, and the arguments which accompanied their decision were not favorable to the Parliamentary party.

To the king, they said, belonged the responsibility of governing, and in the nature of the case government involves a great deal of discretionary power. A distinction was drawn between occasions when common law and Parliamentary action should prevail and occasions when the "absolute" power of the king should prevail. Such occasions were wars and rumors of war, grave emergencies when the king must be held free to act at his absolute discretion, bound neither by common law nor by statute. The king might, in the interest of foreign policy, shut the ports altogether; therefore, he might take toll at the ports.

The House of Commons could not accept the view of the judges. The judicial doctrine that there remained in the king an absolute and inalienable prerogative available for occasions of emergency was met in the Commons by Mr. Hakewill's searching interrogatory, "Who shall be judge between the king and his people of the occasion?" "If the king," he added, "were to be the sole judge of the occasion," such an admission "were by consequence to bring us into bondage." The decision in the Bates case was doubly significant as it endangered the right of Parliament to limit the sources of taxation and so impede arbitrary government. The case is perhaps of greater interest when studied in this connection, but the occasion of its discussion in the House of Commons may be noted in passing as calling forth that momentous claim for Parliamentary sovereignty with which this chapter opens.

Already the judges had pronounced on the limit of the royal prerogative. Coke had asserted vigorously the distinction between ordinance and statute, but few members of the House of Commons at that time would have denied that there existed a certain emergency power, both legislative and judicial, remaining in the king as head of the government. Many of the proclamations of James I had never been questioned. The enforce-

ment of the royal ordinances by the Council in the Court of Star Chamber was accepted as lawful jurisdiction, though one of the most cogent reasons for the unpopularity of these prerogative courts was their competition with the ordinary courts. The proclamations of Charles I were necessarily more numerous than those of his father, inasmuch as he attempted to govern without Parliament for the greater part of his reign.

Connected with the claim of the crown to legislate by means of proclamations are the suspending and dispensing powers. By proclamation the king was able to make new laws and alter old ones; the suspending power enabled him to render impotent any disagreeable statute. By the dispensing power he "excepted out" of the operation of any statute an individual or individuals specially named. The claim of the greater power grew slowly out of the claim of the lesser power. But it was not freely exercised except in the cause of religious toleration, even by the early Stuarts.

James I, in his "Trewe Lawe of Free Monarchies," claims for the king the right to mitigate or to suspend all laws made publicly in Parliament, for causes known only to himself. He used this power, as did his son, to secure a relaxation of the statutes against Roman Catholics, when the dictates of his foreign or domestic policy made leniency imperative. The early Stuarts were not Romanists; they believed that the Protestant religion and the liberties of the people were safe in their hands. But on the royal side was the weight of Roman Catholic influence,

CHARLES I WITH THE SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL PEERS

This picture of Charles I in the House of Lords illustrates the pamphlet entitled 'Discours du bon et loial subject,' which appeared in 1648. Behind the King on the right stands the Chancellor, on the left the Treasurer. The official holding the cap is the Grand Chamberlain, and the Constable holds the sword. A herald and an usher appear in the foreground: other nobles stand round the throne.

and the chief opponents of the king were so inherently anti-Romanist that after the prorogation of Parliament in 1628 the constitutional debate is seen to take on more and more the aspect of a religious controversy.

In a sense the dispensing power is an exercise of the judicial authority of the king; in essence it is the royal right of pardoning offenders. There is no doubt that, even in earlier times, it had been used for considerations other than clemency. The records of Parliament in the fourteenth century abound in instances of petitions of the Commons directed against charters of pardoning. The Lancastrian courts had in their time distinguished between acts that were unpardonable because they violated the fundamental law, such as murder, rape and robbery, and acts prohibited by statute, which were crimes only because their performance was judged to be incxpedient. To the first was denied the benefit of the royal power of dispensation; in short, the king's prerogative could not forgive what was a crime against the moral law, but he could excuse an injury against himself—an illegal act that had injured no one. It was the same distinction as was afterwards made by Chief Justice Coke when distinguishing between statute and law. The Stuart kings sold their dispensations to raise money—so low had the king's prerogative of mercy fallen.

Parliament had then to succeed in limiting the prerogative power of the king before it could assume its rightful place as the soul of the body politic. Parliamentary pretensions were undermining the theory that there were certain spheres of government which belonged exclusively to the king and in which Parliament might not participate. James I and his ministers still held to this view; James, in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, stipulated that its members were not to be allowed to interfere with matters of government or meddle with "mysteries of state," which would seem to leave them with nothing to do.

Neither James nor Charles denied to Parliament the power of making statutes or of granting supplies, but they did deny it the exclusive right, and nullified the power that it had by levying impositions and loans and by issuing proclamations. In the king's opinion it was the duty of the House of Commons to grant a yearly subsidy, and refusal to do so was obstructive, unconstitutional and rebellious. The Commons were able to appeal to history in vindication of their ancient and undoubted right to vote or withhold supplies, and they were on firm ground in their refusal.

James I was treated liberally by his early Parliaments, but when in 1621 he was in need of money in order to intervene in the Thirty Years' War he received only a meager grant, as his conduct of foreign affairs was open to grave mistrust and he had alienated the Commons by his free use of unstatutory methods of raising revenue during the years when Parliament was not sitting. In 1624, however, a liberal grant was made, but this was not given without conditions which were in themselves a triumph for the principles for which Parliament was striving. It was enacted that the money granted should be paid into the hands of treasurers nominated by Parliament and applied only for the relief of the Palatinate. The treasurers and the council of war were made responsible to Parliament with the expressed condition that the houses would themselves punish any misappropriation of the funds. The earlier Parliaments of Charles I were not in a position to employ this check on the royal prodigality, but the Long Parliament made immediate use of the precedent to the great exasperation of the kings.

We have seen that James I made free use of non-statutory methods of raising money. In the case of impositions or increased customs duties he had the sanction of the common law. Certain other methods employed by himself and his son were not so reputable, but again it was not easy for the Commons to dispute the legality of his action; they were constrained to wait until the abuse of the quasi-legal power became so flagrant as to warrant political interference. Monopolies, benevolences, distraint of knighthood, commissions of array, none of which had been considered as outside the law when employed in moderation by the Tudors, were made the instruments of tyranny by the early Stuarts.

In 1628 the chief concessions forced on the king were summed up in that great statute, the Petition of Right, wrung from Charles I by his third Parliament. The act required, in the most explicit terms, that the principal abuses of which the Commons had complained since 1603 should be abolished. These abuses included arbitrary taxation, commissions of martial law and arbitrary imprisonment. The act also required the king to govern according to law; but for Charles to observe faithfully this provision would have been to vacate the office of king as he understood it. In fact, he had no intention of observing its provisions an instant longer than was necessary to obtain a subsidy.

Difficulty arose almost at once over the grant of tonnage and poundage which the king had collected for three years with other imposts, as if a Parliamentary grant were unnecessary for all indirect taxation. Parliament had deliberately omitted the question of customs from the Petition of Right and had proposed to settle the matter separately. Meanwhile, they offered the king a grant of the duties for one year in order to have time to draft a bill. The king refused to accept the compromise. He claimed that it had been usual to make these grants for the lifetime of the sovereign in the first year of the reign. The Commons were unable to contest the point of the legality or otherwise of the king's action in appropriating the custom's duties without Parliamentary sanction, because of the decision of the judges in the Bates case. They had to resort to the bold statement that the Petition of Right had settled the question in their favor. Charles prorogued Parliament and imprisoned the leaders of the House of Commons who had forced him to assent to the Petition of Right.

The political situation was further complicated by questions of doctrine and discipline. The next session of Parliament was responsible for some abortive legislation, and for a demand by the Commons to exercise jurisdiction over an official of the customs who had secured the imprisonment of a Member of Parliament who refused to pay the unstatutory demands. The king declared that the officers who collected the customs were responsible only to himself, and immediately dissolved Parliament. It did not meet again for eleven years, but the Petition of Right remained on the statute book.

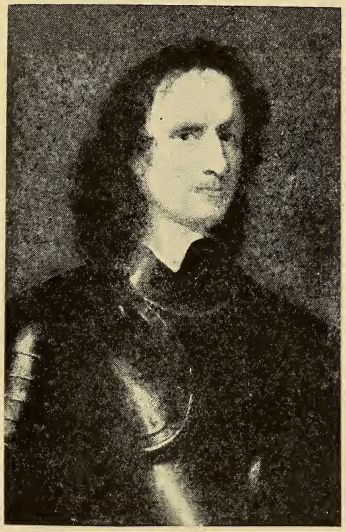
For the moment it appeared that the victory of the Commons was to be unprofitable. The king, if he carried on his government with due economy and incurred no extraordinary expense, seemed to be independent of Parliament. After the dissolution of 1629 Charles continued to collect tonnage and poundage, together with the imposts. The increasing prosperity of the country gave him a larger income from these sources than his father had enjoyed. In spite of the Monopoly Act of 1624 he continued to make these unpopular concessions to traders. The Court of Star Chamber secured the payment of the customs dues, levied fines on country gentlemen and burgesses who had refused to take up orders of knighthood, and also enforced under heavy penalties the restrictions of the old forest boundaries. But even these sources of revenue were insufficient for the king.

In 1634 the seaports and maritime counties were required to furnish ships for the defence of the commerce of the country against the Dutch and the French navies. Shortly afterwards the king demanded from the inland counties money to compound for further equipment for the fleet. The demand was in defiance of the Petition of Right and struck at the very existence of Parliament. The king was loath to meet his Commons, in case his ecclesiastical policy was threatened, and he urged that "ship money" was but the revival of an ancient payment in lieu of personal service for the defence of the realm. He submitted the legality of his case to the judges, who laid it down that, when the kingdom was in danger, the king, under the Great Seal of England, can compel all subjects to furnish the means of defence. Further, they declared the king to be the sole judge of the danger.

John Hampden, a squire of Buckinghamshire, refused to pay, and the question was then threshed out by the twelve judges of the Exchequer. Seven decided for the king, five were in favor of Hampden, but only two declared

definitely against the legality of the tax. So vital was this case to the position of Parliament that the Long Parliament passed a special act declaring the judgement void, to which the king gave his assent on August 7, 1641. Not only did the act declare the ship money writs to be illegal, but it condemned the king's practice of obtaining an extra-judicial opinion. Statute law could no longer be the servant of common law.

The Long Parliament met in 1641 under conditions different from the



JOHN HAMPDEN

Born in 1594, John Hampden was a cousin of Oliver Cromwell and entered Parliament in 1621. One of the most determined Parliamentarians, he was mortally wounded at the battle of Chalgrove Field in 1643.
National Portrait Gallery, London

earlier Parliaments of Charles I. The patience of the leaders was exhausted. For eleven years they had suffered a religious persecution and had endured arbitrary government.

Considering what had happened, it is a matter for amazement that the demands of this Parliament were so moderate. As a condition for granting supplies, it was asked that Charles should come to terms with the Scots, with whom he was then at war, mainly over religious issues. This request was refused, and the "Short Parliament" was dissolved at the end of three weeks. Later in the year the Long Parliament came together, and on the faces of its members an eye-witness has testified that one could read the determination not to be commanded but to command. This was a Parliament backed by an armed force. The Scottish army would undoubtedly have supported the Parliamentarians if dissolution had been threatened.

WITHIN its first year it dealt a lethal blow at the doctrine of the absolute prerogative by abolishing the only court upon which the king could rely to enforce his will without question—the Star Chamber—by the act of July 5, 1641. This act contained a clause of profound constitutional importance, providing that any person committed to prison by the command or warrant of the king in his own person, or of the Council, should, on application to the common law courts, have forthwith granted unto him a Writ of Habeas Corpus, and that the courts should then determine whether his commitment were legal or not. The king's power of arbitrary arrest was swept away.

If the Long Parliament had been content with protecting its ancient powers of legislation and taxation and securing the recognition of the privileges of the lower house, the Civil War might have been averted, but the spirit of the times was such that compromise was impossible. In denying the validity of the king's assumption of absolute sovereignty, Parliament was led to make new claims and to grasp at sole supremacy, attacking in turn the king's share in the constitution.

Figgis, in his thoughtful essay, has shown how the theory of divine right "stamped upon the English mind the conception of Sovereignty." The divine right of the temporal sovereign to implicit obedience in all matters of law or conscience had arisen as a direct issue of the Protestant reformation. The English Protestants, to combat the theory of papal supremacy, had been

driven to propound a doctrine of the omnipotence of the secular government. This theory worked well enough as long as the two possible claimants for the sovereignty were of one mind, but as gradually the House of Commons became conscious of its own power and of the power of public opinion behind it, the divergence of interest became apparent. Divine right had arisen in protest against papal pretensions; the sovereignty of Parliament was entreated against divine right. In future there would be no department in which the representatives of the people would not be the supreme arbiters.

Under the Stuarts legislation and taxation were to a great extent recognized as being in the hands of the Parliament, but the executive power still belonged exclusively to the king, acting through his council. Over the body of the council Parliament had no control. The fact that the ministers were by this time generally members of one or other house of Parliament was not in itself a check on their conduct; the council was a source of strength to the king, whether they sought his advice freely or acted independently. Under the Tudors, moreover, the ministers in Parliament had been useful in swaying the opinion of members.

In the feudal conception, the executive power of the state was the king and his council. By the authority of the council the king exercised his legislative power by means of proclamations, his extra-judicial power by the erection and maintenance of the courts extraordinary as well as the ordinary business of administration. The council was a comparatively small body, even in Tudor and Stuart times, and it was still chosen exclusively by the king. The extent of its influence depended largely on the character of the sovereign. The advisers chosen by James and Charles were incapable of exercising moderation in the council, and their influence operated directly against the possibility of a more popular government.

It is from the state trials in the High Court of Parliament that the doctrine of ministerial responsibility was evolved under the early Tudors. The king's ministers were responsible to no one but the king. If the king had occasion to be dissatisfied with a member of his council, the minister was removed from his office and condemned with the connivance of Parliament, which would probably have the same cause of complaint as the king. The use of Parliament as a court for political offenders had begun in feudal times, but at that period its action was submissive to the will of a faction of the nobles.

Of the two methods employed to secure the removal of unpopular ministers one was impeachment—a trial in which the Commons were the accusers and the Lords the judges—the other, attainder, a statute of pains and penalties, which passed through both houses and ultimately received the assent of the king. The sense of unity in the government was so strong that often when one part acted it almost determined the action of the other parts; that is to say, when the Commons attacked an officer of state it was expected that the Lords would convict him and that the king would add his approval. The Tudor kings had preferred to dispose of their discarded servants by act of attainder, the reason, no doubt, being that the accused was given no opportunity to speak in his own defence. When there came to be a settled dispute between the king and the Commons, it was of great consequence that the lower house had the prescriptive right to initiate action in both the processes of impeachment and attainder. Bacon and other ministers of James I were impeached, convicted and removed from office. They were not grave offenders, and the corruption which they had practised, though a source of irritation, was not looked on as a political crime, even by the members of the House of Commons.

We should perhaps regard this reintroduction of an ancient method of assault as a preliminary canter by which Parliament tried out its awakening power. At any rate, the result served to discredit King James' government, and so may be looked on as a victory for the House of Commons. Bacon's case has a more special constitutional importance. King James was anxious that his most learned adviser should escape disgrace, and sug-

gested that a more lenient form of inquiry should be substituted for impeachment. But the House of Commons resented the attack on its freedom of action and maintained its right of prosecution.

The privileges of Parliament demand some consideration if there is to be a clear understanding of the causes which operated towards the ultimate victory of the Houses in the constitutional struggle. These "ancient and undoubted rights" had only been formally claimed at the beginning of each Parliament from the reign of Henry VIII. They must not be regarded as depending upon the good will of the king; they must rather be associated with the dignity of Parliament itself. In the recognition of these rights in earlier times there is tacit acknowledgment of the superiority of Parliament to the other courts of the land.

Immunity of Members of Parliament from arrest seems to have had its original in pre-Norman times. Canute granted his protection to all going to and from the "gemot." In the more turbulent times of the Middle Ages such a precaution was probably necessary to ensure the safe arrival and departure of the king's advisers. It was a specific extension of the king's peace to cover the persons and estates of his servants while they were engaged on royal business. The protection was afterwards extended to exemption from legal arrest and from being impleaded in civil suits in the ordinary courts, but at no time is it put forward that the king's service can save a man from arrest for an offence against the natural and fundamental law. Treasons, felonies and assaults are thus removed from privilege.

The right of both houses to debate freely, without interference from the king or his ministers, cannot be traced back to such early times. It is noteworthy that when the ancient rights and privileges of the Commons were confirmed by the Tudors, freedom of debate was not included. The Tudor Parliaments were loyal, they were submissive, but no despotic monarch could safely yield that concession to a freely-elected Parliament. From 1542 onwards, however, the Speaker included freedom of speech as one of the privileges claimed at the beginning of each session.

Under the Stuarts the twin privileges of freedom of speech and freedom from arrest became of supreme importance in the struggle for the larger issues. The first attack was made by James I in 1614, when Parliament was dissolved after the debate on impositions. Sir Edwin Sandys and three other members of the Commons were arrested for the part they had played in the discussion. In 1621 Sandys was again arrested, and the king refused to listen to an assertion of the privileges of the House. He declared that the rights which the Commons had, they had only by his sufferance.

Charles I hated the very name of Parliament. The first assembly of his reign proved unfavorable in the matter of a subsidy and proceeded immediately to consider public grievances, claiming amongst their ancient privileges the right to determine the order in which the House would deal with business. In order to obviate criticism from his second Parliament, the king appointed Coke and four other leading patriots to be sheriffs of their counties. The device served only to irritate the Commons and brought forward a leader of more implacable temper—Sir John Eliot.

The Parliament of 1626 impeached Buckingham. Eliot assumed the role of public prosecutor, and his speech left no doubt at all that the nation held the king's favorite responsible for the evil government. The king regarded the demand for the dismissal of his chosen minister as a usurpation of his sovereignty. He hurried to Westminster to claim as his own the actions imputed to his adviser. Eliot and others were committed to the Tower, but the Commons refused to proceed with other business until their leaders were released; after ten days Eliot and his friends were set free. Parliament was dissolved by the king amidst protests of privilege.

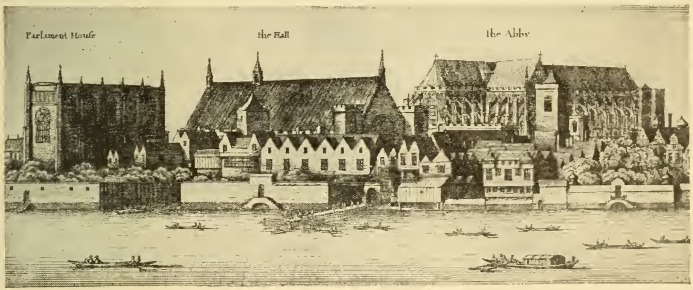
In 1628 Charles was obliged to summon Parliament. On every hand the king's friends were rejected at the election. To have suffered through resistance to the royal tyranny was everywhere a passport to a seat. "We must vindicate our ancient liberties; we must reinforce the laws made by our ancestors," said Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was

elected for the county of Yorkshire. But the speaker of these words, the incarnation of the spirit of the Parliament that secured the king's signature to the Petition of Right, was afterwards to abandon the national cause for the king's service. Buckingham was murdered during the first session of this Parliament and statutory redress for the most important grievances was obtained, but the real source of the trouble remained.

At the end of the session of 1629 freedom of speech had to be assured under difficult conditions. The king's messenger was clamoring at the door of the Commons with the order for dissolution, but, before he was admitted, members of the House voted for Sir John Eliot's resolution that whosoever should introduce innovations in religion or endorse the levy of a subsidy not granted in Parliament was "a betrayer of the liberty of England and an enemy of the same." After the dissolution Charles attacked the leaders of Parliament and threw them into prison. Sir John Eliot died in the Tower. He was venerated as the first martyr in the cause of English liberty.

THE Long Parliament was in a position to maintain its rights and to determine the order in which the House would discuss business. It was now resolved to provide against any return to the absolute government of the last eleven years. A Triennial Act was passed which enacted that Parliament was to meet once in every three years. The returning officers were bound to proceed to election if the royal writs were not issued. There followed the attack on the king's ministers: Strafford the apostate, Finch the Lord Keeper, and Archbishop Laud were debarred from the exercise of their offices. Sir Robert Berkeley, one of the judges who had pronounced for the legality of the ship money tax, was imprisoned. The condemnation of Strafford was at length secured under stress of mob violence. He was condemned for high treason, but the Parliament whose appeal was to the sanctity of the laws of England did not hesitate to go beyond the Statute of Treasons to ensure his downfall.

Charles did not give his favorite to death without an attempt to thwart his opponents. The intrigue by which he hoped to seize London by aid of the soldiery from the north was discovered, and he was again discredited. There was now no hope of reconciliation between the parties. The Commons could not trust the king; the king could not deal straightforwardly with the Commons. The country had heard rumors of the plan to bring the army to London. A Romanist rebellion was feared, while on all sides it was muttered that the queen



PARLIAMENT HOUSE IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I

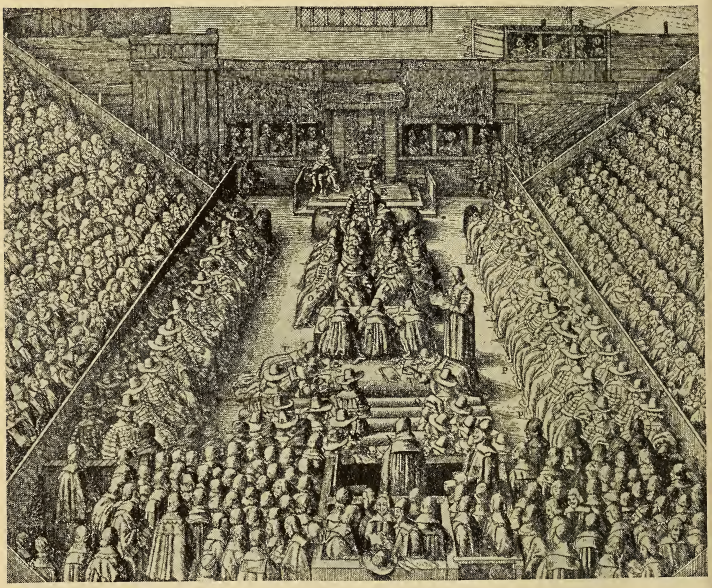
This engraving by W. Hollar shows the old House of Parliament as it appeared to the artist in 1641. Originally a chapel founded by Stephen, the building became a meeting place of the House of Commons under Edward IV, until whose reign its sessions had been held in the chapter house of Westminster Abbey (right). The Commons held their meetings in St. Stephen's chapel until 1834, when it was destroyed by fire.

British Museum

was planning to introduce a French force to aid the attack on national liberties. An oath to defend the Protestant religion and safeguard civil liberty was taken voluntarily by the mass of Englishmen.

Now was introduced into Parliament what may be recognized as the first distinctly revolutionary measure. The statutes by which the Commons regained their hold on taxation and legislation and called a check to the innovation in Church government were backed by constitutional precedent. The act condemning Strafford followed in its outward form the convictions of Thomas Cromwell and the Lord Protector Somerset. The fear of a counter-revolution became so acute that the moderate men in the Commons were swept along by the flood. A bill was passed which provided that Parliament should not be dissolved except by its own consent. The effect was to establish the Parliament as a power permanently co-equal with the crown.

All the more moderate members of the Commons and a majority of the Peers were willing to give the king a further opportunity to govern with the aid of Parliament. They believed that English national liberty was bound up with the life of the national assembly, and in the co-operation of the king with the ancient council of the realm. This co-operation was seemingly assured by the Triennial Act. Moreover, the king had again given his promise to rule according to the counsel given him in Parliament.



'TRVE MANER OF THE SITTING OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS'

This representation of the trial of Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, in 1641, is from a plate by W. Hollar, the Bohemian etcher, who spent many years in England. Strafford was accused of attempting 'to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom,' and Parliament held that the attempt was high treason. Strafford is the central figure in the foreground looking towards the throne. Thomas, earl of Arundel, the Lord High Steward, faces him, while clerks record the proceedings.

They did not wish to see the crown stripped of the dignity and power it had possessed under the Tudors, neither could the moderate men countenance the handing over of the Church of England to the Puritan extremists. There was a break in the ranks, and for the space of a moment it looked as if the king might hold the breach. Led by Pym, the Puritan party proceeded to draw up the Grand Remonstrance, which was nothing but an elaborate state paper recapitulating the grievances lately endured and now ended by the will of Parliament. The moderate party, in its endeavor not to humble the king further, fought against the adoption of the Remonstrance, but the majority prevailed, and the sitting of the House broke up in actual strife.

The appeal to the nation to support the Parliament by armed force was not long delayed. The House was occupied with the measure removing the bishops from the House of Lords when riots broke out in London. The precincts of Parliament were disturbed by brawls between the supporters of the king and the supporters of the Commons. King Charles refused to give the House an armed guard and, mistaking the strength of his supporters, proceeded to perpetrate the crowning folly of his career. Supported by his friends, he went personally to the House to effect the arrest of five of its members, on a charge of high treason. The expedition was a failure, but it set a spark to the flame of rebellion. Within a few days Charles had withdrawn from London and there was civil war.

The Declaration of the Lords and Commons, dated June 6, 1642, in defense of the Order of Parliament of three months earlier for mustering the militia, is the first practical usurpation of sovereignty by Parliament. It is here claimed that the High Court of Parliament is

> enabled by the laws to adjudge and determine the right and liberties of the Kingdom against such Patents and Grants by his Majesty as are prejudicial thereunto although strengthened by his personal command.

More than this, the Lords and Commons went on to claim that they were

> a Council, to provide for the necessities, prevent the imminent dangers and preserve the public peace and safety of the kingdom and to declare the king's pleasure in those things as are requisite thereto and what they do herein hath the stamp of the royal authority, although his Majesty, seduced by evil counsel, do in his own person oppose or interrupt the same.

Here is the high-water mark of Parliamentary sovereignty. The king has become a "fiction."

'KING PYM' PORTRAYED

John Pym (1584-1643) was one of the chief supporters of the Petition of Right in 1628 and led the Short Parliament of 1640. In 1641 he proposed to check the royal power by making the king's ministers responsible to Parliament.

Engraving of miniature by Samuel Cooper

The issue thus joined was decided by the arbitrament of war. With the defeat of the armies of Charles I the victory of Parliamentary sovereignty was complete.

The events of these fateful years of the first half of the seventeenth century made a profound impression upon the countries of western Europe, and yet they left no trace upon their constitutional development, which was, indeed, arrested for nearly two centuries. Parliaments in the English sense do not make their appearance in western Europe until after

Waterloo, and even then their development was comparatively slow. Why was it that in England alone the supremacy of Parliament was established as early as the seventeenth century?

Originally, the mere existence of Parliamentary institutions—in other words, of a body of "estates" representative of the realm—was in no way peculiar to England. "What is distinctive of medieval England," as Maitland truly remarked, "was not Parliament, for we may everywhere see Assemblies of Estates." But England was, indeed, distinguished by great schools of national law—the customary or common law,

CHARLES I FOILED

This engraving by Hollar illustrates the attempt of Charles I in 1642 to arrest the five members for intriguing with the Scots. He found that the 'birds were flown'—whither, the Speaker, William Lentall, would not divulge.

the "droit coutumier," the "Landrecht"—of every other country was engulfed, in the sixteenth century, by that invasion known to history as the "reception" of Roman law with its absolutist doctrine of monarchical power—"Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem" (the prince's pleasure has the force of law)—English law stood firm as a rock against the oncoming tide.

It was the Inns of Court that were the recruiting ground of the Parliamentary opposition, and that opposition took the form of an assertion of the supremacy of the common law as against the royal power. "Magna Carta," declared Coke, "is such a sovereign that he will have no fellow." And Magna Carta was universally regarded as declaratory of the common law. Coke, it is true, was, as we have seen, inclined to the view that even Parliament itself could not legislate in derogation of the principles of Magna Carta—a claim which, if upheld, would have been fatal to the doctrine of Parliamentary sovereignty as we now know it—but the important thing is his assertion that the king himself could not derogate from it.

The whole issue between king and Parliament is crystallized in the obiter dictum of that judge in the ship money case who declared, in favor of the king, "I never read nor heard that Lex was Rex, but it is common and most true that Rex is Lex"—this on the one hand, and in the declaration of the Commons, on the other, in the debates on the Petition of Right, that to surrender their claims would be "to acknowledge a regal as well as a legal power." It is this union between the common lawyers and the Parliamentary opposition that was at once decisive of the struggle and, in distinction to constitutional struggles abroad, peculiar to it.

To trace out all its implications would involve a long excursion into the principles of the common law itself. It is enough to say here that in the England of the early Middle Ages, unlike Continental countries, feudal doctrines, instead of remaining a separate system of law and the law of a feudal caste, were absorbed into the customary law, and, in the process of absorption, lost all their privileged character. English law, even as early as the thirteenth century, "knows hardly anything"—in the words of Pollock and Maitland—"of a noble and gentle class; all freemen are in the main equal before the law."

In large measure this is the reason why the "estates" in France and Germany never developed into Parliaments representative of the community as a whole. The impress of caste was too strong upon them; the privileges of the respective orders or "estates" were irreconcilable one with another, and the lawyers stood apart. The so-called "Parlement" of Paris—only a "parliament" in the original and medieval sense of the word, namely, a "parley" or colloquy, in this case a parley of judges who took root in Paris

as the High Court—was a close corporation of lawyers who were indifferent to the claims of the States-General. In the long intervals which elapsed between the dissolution of one assembly of the latter and the summons of another, the Parlement of Paris did, indeed, advance claims of its own to a semi-constitutional character, in particular a claim to control the absolute legislative power of the crown by making the registration of royal edicts and ordinances subject to its approval; but it was a claim which, as Aubert, the historian of the Parlement, observes, had really no foundation in law or in fact, and was easily disposed of by a "lettre de jussion," or formal command, of the king ordering them to proceed.

At the end of our period, namely, in the year 1648, the Parlement of Paris emerged from the seclusion of its archives to play a brief and inglorious part in that mock revolution known as the Fronde, and, influenced, no doubt, by the course of events in England, it even attempted to frame a scheme of constitutional reforms. But the insurrectionary movement got completely out of the hands of these "men of the long robe," and even before it was crushed they made their peace with the court of the queen-regent and Mazarin. Twenty-one years later, the pretensions of the Parlement received a mortal blow: its cherished "right of remonstrance" met with a *coup de grâce* at the hands of Louis XIV in 1673. As for the States-General, factious, intermittent, inconclusive, they left no mark on the statute-book—if, indeed, we can speak of "statutes" in French history—and the best that their historian, Picot, can say of them is that "their greatest monument is the cahiers de doléances"—those petitions of grievances which remained petitions and nothing more.

LARGELY, the development of the States-General in France along the lines of the English Parliament was prevented by reason of lack of unity between the three estates. In England there is always to be observed a political division running through the two Houses —of those whose policy was favorable to the crown, and those who were opposed to the royal measures. The doctrine of ennobled blood, with its consequent class privileges, which prevailed in France, always operated towards the union of the privileged orders against the Third Estate. The nobles and the clergy were exempt from taxation—the nobles because they fought, the clergy because they prayed—and the Third Estate were left to struggle alone against the burden. This divergence of interests between the classes, together with mutual jealousy and rivalry, played an all-important part in destroying the political usefulness of the assembly.

After 1614 the States-General ceased to be convoked, but the States Provincial were still maintained in certain districts—Languedoc, Provence, Burgundy and Brittany. The States Provincial had nominally the function of voting the taxes for their districts, but they never opposed an effective resistance to the crown, although the king of France sometimes could not obtain their vote of supplies without skilful management or some intimidation. The States-General, dissolved in 1614, were never summoned again until 1789, on the eve of the Revolution.

IN Spain a similar cause operated towards similar effects. Here some of the cities had been represented in the "Cortes" as early as the twelfth century, and here, both in Aragon and Castile, the control of these assemblies over the crown appeared for some time much more assured and regular than in France. But here, too, the development of constitutional government was hindered in the sixteenth century by the lack of union between the nobility and the representatives of the people. The one approach to a constitutional movement, presented by the revolt of the Comuneros in 1519, spent itself in faction and was never repeated.

The strength of the monarchy lay in the absence of combination between the other competitors for power and the willingness of the nobility to accept privileges at the expense of their fellow members. In Spain, as in France, the nobles claimed that their military service exempted them from taxation, and the way to absolutism was thus made fatally easy. The representation of the cities of Castile was weakened at the instance of

their rivals, and all attempts to restore the older voting force were met with fierce resentment. The Cortes of Aragon, where the royal power in the Middle Ages had been more jealously limited than in Castile, still retained some constitutional checks on the monarch to the end of the reign of Philip II, and, oddly enough, kept some hold on taxation till long after. The last struggle between the king and the Provincial Cortes of Aragon took place in the early years of the eighteenth century.

The crown possessed immense hereditary revenues which made it normally independent of the Cortes, and the foreign tribute of its vast dominion beyond the Spanish frontiers and overseas provided the rest. From this point of view the expulsion of the English dynasty from France in the middle of the fifteenth century, which put an end to English dominion on the Continent, was an event of incalculable importance in the development of the English Parliament—English kings, unlike the kings of Spain, could no longer look to foreign tribute and foreign arms to maintain a despotic power at home. Like the States-General in France, the Cortes never at any time acquired a right to a voice in legislation.

In Germany the movement for constitutional reform, which had manifested itself at the Diet of Worms in 1495, had already long spent its force by the beginning of the seventeenth century. That movement had, indeed, never possessed much vitality; the disintegration of medieval Germany into a multitude of principalities, both lay and clerical, sovereign in everything but in name, conforming to no common type, a feudal mosaic of infinite variety with enclaves of imperial cities and imperial knights owning an almost invisible superior, would of itself have baffled all attempts at the development of a representative assembly, capable of speaking for an Empire which was less a monarchy than a ghostly fiction.

With its three colleges of electors, of princes lay and clerical, and of representatives of free cities, the Imperial Diet had advanced a claim for annual sessions in 1495, and during the succeeding twenty years various attempts were made to set up a kind of governing council, or Reichsregiment, more or less responsible to it; but of all these schemes nothing survived except the Imperial Chamber Court as a kind of supreme court of appeal with a federal jurisdiction of much pomp and little dominion.

Anyhow, the Reformation, rending Germany asunder into two opposing factions, was fatal to all chances of constitutional unity, and the Compromise of 1555, known as the Peace of Augsburg, with its sceptical eirenicon of "cuius regio ejus religio"—the sovereign's religion determines the religion of the state—merely served to consolidate the autocratic pretensions of the ruler of each principality. The Peace of Westphalia (1648), which marks the end of our period, set the seal on the disintegration of Germany into a mere geographical group of sovereign or semi-sovereign states; the Imperial Diet lived on as a kind of congress of ambassadors exercising no sovereign authority over the subjects of the German states, while within those states themselves the local diets entirely disappeared. The victory of absolutism was complete.

It is in the Netherlands, the home of thriving communes and a great commercial aristocracy, that one would expect to find, if anywhere, the development of a vigorous Parliamentary life on the Continent. Unlike France, Spain and Germany, the country was never closely identified with a reigning dynasty. But for that very reason it was never welded into a compact commonwealth, like the England of the Tudor monarchy, and the particularist rivalries of the provinces and, within the provinces themselves, the oligarchical character of the communes, in which all power was vested in a patriciate of ruling burgher families, were fatal to the development of anything in the nature of Parliamentary sovereignty.

At Brussels, the estates of the provinces met, for the first time, in 1465, in a "States-General," and twelve years later extorted from the daughter of Charles the Rash a charter known as "The Great Privilege," by the terms of which no taxes were to be levied without the consent of the new assembly. Alva himself nearly a century later, at the very height of his tyranny, found it

necessary to summon them in order to find pay for the Spanish troops of occupation. Even the common resistance to a foreign dynasty failed, however, to unite the provinces; religious dissidence accentuated their differences, and in 1579 the Dutch and Belgian provinces fell apart, the latter acknowledging the dominion of Spain, with which they were united by a common faith.

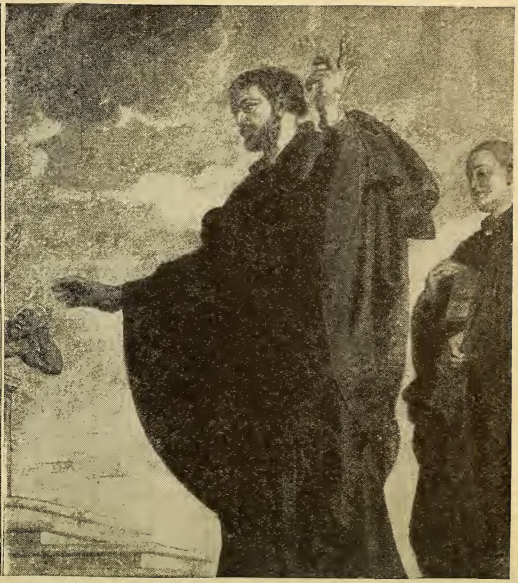
From this secession one may date that republic of the seven provinces, known as "the United Provinces," in which the hegemony of the most powerful of them, namely Holland, was eventually recognized by their adoption of hers as their common name. During the struggle against the dominion of Spain, competing tendencies, centrifugal and centripetal, had been at issue in the heart of the States-General itself, some provinces contending for the principle of state rights, others for the principle of union; and when the menace of foreign dominion disappeared with Spain's recognition, by the Treaty of Münster in 1648, of the independence of the new republic, it was the advocates of state rights who triumphed. Three years later, in 1651, the "Grand Assembly" of The Hague recognized the principle that all sovereign rights resided in the provinces, and henceforth the States-General reverted to type—like the Imperial Diet in Germany, it was not a Parliament but a congress of delegates of sovereign, or rather semi-sovereign, states.

Not until 1747 was the office of "protector of the republic," or "stadtholder," recognized by all the provinces as hereditary in the family of Orange, and by that time it was too late for its institution to form the nucleus of a united legislature—a "King in Parliament." The Dutch parliament of today came to birth only in 1848.

It will be seen from this survey that the struggle in England between the king and Parliament in the seventeenth century was unique of its kind, but for that very reason it was destined to exercise long afterwards a profound influence, truly oecumenical in its scope, upon the whole of the civilized world. It is no mere flight of rhetoric to speak of the English legislature as "the Mother of Parliaments." Writing in the middle of the eighteenth century, Montesquieu, the true father of comparative law, singled out the English constitution as the ideal policy for the contemplation of Mankind; and when the French Revolution spread like a devouring flame all over Europe, England alone escaped the conflagration of a movement which was as widely destructive of the old order in Europe as the Reformation itself.

The result was to give the English Parliament the prestige of a monument of human wisdom, and Hallam did no more than express the universal opinion of his time, extravagant though his language may sound to us, when he described it as "the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of Mankind." Everywhere in Europe men set themselves to follow the advice of Edmund Burke to "study the British Constitution." The nineteenth century was the great age of conscious imitation in the arts of government, and one school, represented by Guizot, in one generation, and another school, headed by Gneist, in another, studied to naturalize the British constitution on the Continent. The two-chamber system and "law and custom of Parliament," which characterize it, were imitated in nearly every country in Europe. Even in the New World the fathers of the American constitution had borrowed far more than they sought to avoid.

The development of self-government in the British colonies in the latter half of the nineteenth century brought into being some twenty-eight legislatures overseas which are cast in the very image of the Parliament at Westminster. Its august ceremonial, the almost sacerdotal authority of its Speaker's Chair, its ancient privileges, its procedure, are the political heritage of them all. The English Parliament, which held its earliest sittings in the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey, had found a permanent home, in the reign of Henry VIII, in St. Stephen's chapel, and there its members did obeisance to the altar as they entered the sacred precincts. Thus originated a ritual of "bowing to the Speaker" which today is universally observed in the legislatures of distant lands that were then as unknown to Europe as the uncharted seas which girt them. Such is the force of tradition.



FOUNDER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AND HIS SAINTED DISCIPLE, THE APOSTLE OF THE INDIES

Rubens painted the pictures of Loyola healing demoniacs and of Francis Xavier preaching in India from which these dominating figures are taken, and, although not primarily intended as likenesses, they corroborate the traditional descriptions of the two men. Loyola's olive-complectioned face was emaciated by self-imposed austerities, and underneath the large forehead his eyes burned with the brilliance of the mystic and seer of visions. Xavier, also an ascetic and a mystic, was a Navarrese, with blue or gray eyes and thick hair and beard, fair until whitened by hardships suffered in the East.

National Gallery, Vienna; photos, F. Brückmann A.G.

THE JESUITS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES

AIMS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS FOUNDED BY S. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

By CANON R. H. MURRAY

Author of The Political Consequences of the Reformation, etc.

THE year 1535 marks a turning point in the history of the sixteenth century. In spite of his alliance with the Lutherans, Francis I of France, on January 19, 1535, at length declared himself hostile to German theology—in France—and executed some of his own subjects who did not hold the doctrine—so convenient to sovereigns—of 'the prince's religion the people's religion.' That year Calvin was writing his Institutes of the Christian Religion, an amazing performance for a man of twenty-six. There was no room for him in his native country, France, nor indeed in Strassburg. He set out for Geneva, there to wield a power, secular as much as ecclesiastical, which even Paul III might envy. As the French revolutionaries offered assistance to all peoples desirous of freedom, so Calvin offered his pen and the men he inspired. To the Low Countries he sent that powerful apostle of toleration, Marnix; to England he sent Peter Martyr, and to Scotland he sent John Knox, three forerunners of three revolutions.

Literature in 1535 is just as pregnant with meaning as life. That year Robert Olivétan translated the Bible into French. The year 1535 also saw Coverdale's translation of the Bible, from the Latin and German, appear with the approval of Henry VIII and Cromwell. At Lyons appeared another work, Rabelais's masterpiece, The Inestimable Life of the Great Gargantua, father of Pantagruel.

Paul III was meditating in 1535 the convocation of a council which was to heal the diseases of the Church. It was indeed time to take notice of the spread of the Reformation, for in 1535 events were moving fast in England. In January the Act of Supremacy proclaimed Henry VIII Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England.

We may talk as loudly as we please about the science of history or political philosophy, but the front presented by such subjects is broken by the existence of the great man. There are such surprises as Newton from a Lincolnshire farm or a Loyola or a Xavier from the heart of the Basque country. For, curiously enough, both S. Ignatius de Loyola and S. Francis de Xavier were Spanish Basques.

The father of Ignatius Loyola belonged to the principal nobility of the Basque province of Guipuzcoa, and his son spent his youth in martial exercises, thus seeking name and fame. In the spring of 1521 Francis I besieged Pampeluna. The garrison was about to surrender, when Loyola infused fresh courage into the commander. Just before the town was taken a cannon ball broke the bone of Loyola's right leg and wounded the left.

The hours of convalescence were long, and in order to while away the time Loyola read a Spanish version of the Golden Legends by Jacob da Voragine, a book which recounted the deeds of the soldiers of the Church, and a life of Christ by Ludolf of Saxony. Fired by his reading, Loyola saw that there was fighting to be done on behalf of the Church every whit as active as any fighting on behalf of the state.

On the eve of the Annunciation, 1522, Loyola went into the monastery church of the Blessed Virgin. There, like a knight of chivalry, he kept watch throughout the night, hanging up his sword and dagger as an offering, and so this new soldier of Christ entered the lifelong service of his Master. Evolving

a rigidly ascetic ideal of life for himself, he practised the exercises of religion as he had practised the exercises of warfare. His pilgrimage to Palestine infused fresh zeal into his soul, and he returned ardent to signalize his devotion to the Church. Returning to Barcelona in 1524, he started to learn Latin, reading Erasmus's Christian Soldier's Manual in that language, but its perusal chilled the fervor of his soul. To him theory and practice were simply two aspects of the same thing, and accordingly he supplemented his thoughts on religion by ministry among the artisan of the town and the peasant of the country.

The Inquisition had persecuted him in Spain, for its members were afraid of what Talleyrand called undue zeal, and the College of Montaigu in Paris, to which he proceeded, labelled him a fanatic. There he spent seven years, and there he gathered his first disciples. The charm of his personal appearance combined with the liveliness of his conversation attracted men, and these he dominated by his supreme faculty of governing others. Le Fèvre, Lainez, Salmeron and Xavier were the first disciples of the man for whom they sacrificed everything this world counts dear. Xavier was as well born as Loyola, who bestowed much of his attention on the nobility and on the means of attaching them to the Church. Xavier's love for Ignatius was of the deepest character, and it breathes through the letters he wrote to the founder of the Society of Jesus so long as he lived.

Behind every institution there must lie its guiding principle, and with Loyola this is to be found in his Spiritual Exercises, his book of prayer and meditation. The Spiritual Exercises of Loyola is simply a drill-book of the soul; and, in keeping with this character, it is as formal as a system of military training could be. The exercises are to cover a month. The first week is spent on the consideration of sin, the second on the life and rule of the Redeemer, the third on the love and mystery of our Lord's Passion, and the fourth on the Resurrection and Ascension. There is nothing novel in these themes, though there is something novel in the fashion in which they are brought home to the man in retreat.

He is to think of Christ and Satan as the leaders of two opposing hosts; Satan, on the one side, sending forth devils to ensnare souls by means of riches, honors and pleasant vices; while Christ, on the other, commends to His disciples the life of humility and poverty. The suggestion is conveyed that Christ is the general of an army going forth to conquer. The notion of an order of religious chivalry is apparent throughout. How can we conquer unless we fight in deadly earnest? Man is to be saved, but he is to be saved because he insists on destroying every obstacle that hinders his salvation. This goal is in the highest degree desirable; but does the novice tread the path to it? The force of the Spiritual Exercises is spent on urging the novice to choose his path and, when once chosen, never to depart from it.

A perusal of the Spiritual Exercises is disappointing. Here is a book, the reader says to himself, employed by the faithful for almost three hundred years and employed by them to some purpose, yet it leaves me cold with a coldness akin to that experienced by its author when he read Erasmus's Christian Soldier's Manual. Nor is the cause of this attitude difficult to discern. The impression made by the Spiritual Exercises is felt when their meditation is made in common with other novices, directed by a skilful conductor to lead them onwards in the path of obedience. Such a conductor is as skilful a psychologist as Loyola himself, and his knowledge of the heights and depths of the soul enables him to move and subjugate the soul of the disciple. His submission to the Roman Church must be of the blindest order. All her traditions, all her rites, must be sedulously observed.

In fact in the rules for thinking with the Church, added to the Spiritual Exercises, we meet with an abdication of the functions of human reason. Take the thirteenth rule: 'In order that we may be altogether in conformity with the Catholic Church, and of the same mind, we should hold ourselves ready, if in any instances he has pronounced that to be black, which to our eyes appears white, to declare that it is so. For it is undoubtedly to be believed that the spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the spirit of the Orthodox Church, his spouse, is the same, and by which spirit we are

governed and guided to salvation. Such obedience is plainly abject, rendering the novice an instrument completely in the hands of the conductor of the retreat. The religious man was to be passively obedient, 'as a corpse would be,' to employ Loyola's famous phrase.

On August 15, 1534, the feast of the Assumption, Loyola and six companions took the vows which led to the formation of the Company of Jesus in 1540. Obstacles in the shape of a chilling reception of his ideas at Rome had to be overcome, but what were obstacles but matters which must be overcome? Impossibilities to other men became possibilities to Ignatius Loyola. The good will of Cardinal Contarini was gained, and through him Paul III at last issued the charter on September 27, 1540.

Loyola was the first general, and the Constitution of the Company was drafted. The conversion of the heathen was the object at first, and when this proved impracticable the Jesuits turned their attention to preaching and teaching. The Company was a religious order founded upon military obedience, the principle to which S. Pachomius the Egyptian appealed in founding his monastic communities in the fourth century, and the principle to which 'General' Booth the Englishman appealed in the nineteenth century in founding his Salvation Army. It is hard to be original, yet original Ignatius was in allowing monks to dress like secular clergy; original he was in dispensing monks from the duty of singing the long daily and nightly services in choir; and original he was in dividing his disciples into six grades, of which only the highest took the most solemn and irrevocable vows.

By the Constitution a novitiate of two years is required before taking the vows. The impediments to membership of the Society are heresy, homicide, membership of another order, marriage or servitude, and mental deficiency. Candidates must be willing to forgo all communication with their family or friends. During their novitiate they shall take the Spiritual Exercises for a month; serve in hospital for a month; travel for a month without money, begging their food from door to door; shall perform the most menial services in a house of the Society; teach the catechism to children; and hold themselves ready to preach and hear confession. The utmost stress was laid on the paramount importance of obedience.

> Dropping every occupation—leaving unfinished the letter we have begun—and banding all our strength and purpose in the Lord to that end, so that holy obedience be perfect in us in every respect, in execution, in will, and in understanding; obedience in execution consists in doing what is ordered; obedience in will, in having no other will than his from whom we receive the order; obedience in understanding, in thinking as the Superior thinks, and in believing what he ordains is rightly ordained. Otherwise obedience is imperfect. We are to do whatever shall be commanded, with great promptitude, and spiritual joy and steadfastness; persuading ourselves that all commands are righteous; and laying aside in blind obedience our own opinion to the contrary; yea, in everything prescribed by the Superior—where it cannot definitely be shown that some kind of sin is involved. Let everyone convince himself that those who live under Obedience, should be led and governed by Divine Providence through their Superiors, 'perinde ac si cadaver essent,' as a corpse would be, that allows itself to be carried here or there, and handled after any fashion; or like an old man's staff, which suffers itself to be used anywhere, and in any way that he who holds it wishes.

Such a system, if rigidly carried out, meant that the novice yielded the obedience of a slave to his master, and it was rigidly carried out.

The motto of the new Society was 'to the greater glory of God,' but it was a motto which covered, in the eyes of its general, the principle that the end determines and justifies the means. No Jesuit openly confessed that such was his principle, yet the after history of Europe attests that such was his practice. Like Machiavelli, Loyola taught that the conscience of the individual must give way to the community, though the end for the Florentine was the benefit of the state, and the end for the no less famous Basque was the benefit of the Church of Rome. Nor does the Constitution stand alone in its emphasis. For in his well-known letter to the Portuguese Jesuits in 1533, Ignatius laid down: 'I ought not to be my own, but His who created me; and his, too, through whom God governs me. I ought to be like a corpse, which has neither will nor understanding; like a crucifix, that is

turned about by him who holds it; like the staff in the hands of an old man who uses it at will.' He also laid down that 'A sin, whether venial or mortal, must be committed if it is commanded by the Superior, in the Name of our Lord, or in virtue of obedience.'

The Society of Jesus was composed, first, of the probationers, comprising a variety of sub-grades, all distinguished by the fact that they had not made any solemn profession of vows; secondly, of the fathers, who had taken the three vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; and, thirdly, of the select fathers, who had taken the three vows and the fourth of special obedience to the pope, at whose word the Jesuit bound himself instantly to go forth on whatever errand it might please the Holy Father to command. By the original statutes, no one under fourteen years of age could become a novice, though, by a brief of Benedict XIV, the general was empowered if he saw fit, in special cases, to admit at an earlier age.

No initiative on the part of the probationer was either expected or desired. For instance, Rodriguez once pursued devotional exercises not countenanced by the ritual of the Society, and he pursued them with the aim of making himself a fitter member of it. Loyola wrote to him a stern rebuke; and the ground of this rebuke was that his religious fervor was a simple act of presumption that must rejoice the enemy of human nature, because not performed under that direction of obedience which imparts to zeal its holiness. Ignatius laid stress on the fact that the remarkable qualities of a candidate were remarkable only in so far as they would be strictly and exclusively brought into play at the word of command. He informed his confidential secretary, Polanco, that 'in those who offered themselves he looked less to purely natural goodness than to firmness of character and ability for business'—the peculiar business of the Society.

A relative of Cardinal Vaughan was a Jesuit, and he resigned his membership of the Society of Jesus in order to join the army. A friend said to him, 'Why, you have only exchanged one form of obedience for another.' 'Not at all, for in the army if you do not like a command given to you, you can abuse the officer in your mind, but with the Jesuits you cannot abuse him even in your mind.' This answer indicates precisely the absolute obedience demanded, obedience which meant that every shred of liberty, in thought as well as in deed, must be abandoned.

The power of the general over the novice was absolute. By a brief of Gregory XIV, issued in 1591, it was carefully laid down that no investigation or inquiry whatever was requisite before sentence of expulsion was pronounced against a member of the Society by the general. It was sufficient if he were inwardly satisfied that the probationer was not desirable on any ground. Over the professed Jesuit father it might seem at first that the powers of the general were less, yet even with him the general was allowed to pronounce summary and ultimate judgment on the single ground that in his consciousness he was persuaded of its soundness.

No Jesuit was admitted to the third class till he had reached the age of forty-five, and there is reason to think that the number reaching this class was exceedingly small. No doubt the general could exercise his faculty of dispensation if he discerned special aptitude in any individual, and there have been cases where he has done so. Claudius Acquaviva, for instance, entered the Society at the age of twenty-five. After only fifteen years of service he was promoted to the generalship, a post he held for thirty-four years.

From the newest novice upwards there were minute directions for supervision, which was of the most far-reaching description. In Europe the superiors and rectors of houses had to report in writing to the provincial every week, and those abroad reported at intervals fixed by the provincial under whom they acted. Vague reports were not tolerated. They were to be of a detailed description not only of persons and matters relating to members of the Society, but also of their dealings with the world at large, 'so that the provincial might contemplate all things as though he had them before him.' Once a month the provincial, in his turn, made his report to the general. In order to guard against all possibility of suppression or of misrepresentation on the part of the provincial, all superiors, rec-

tors and masters of novitiates were bound, apart from their reports to the provincial, to send a quarterly report to the general.

These officials were ordered to report directly to the general any matter of moment when it occurred. That is, the provincials checked the superiors, rectors and masters, and in turn were checked by the superiors, rectors and masters. In fact, check and counter-check formed the custom of the Society, and the only person with all the threads of the ramifying correspondence in his hands was the general. All letters of business must be directed to the general, 'and not to others who are acting with him.' Express precautions were enjoined. We learn that 'in treating matters which demand secrecy, such terms are to be used as can be understood only by the Superiors; the method shall be prescribed by the General.' In truth, the aim of the Society of Jesus was to make every member a wheel in a great machine, and only the general could order the course of the machine.

That the faithful felt the need of combating the Reformation is abundantly demonstrated by the rapid growth of the Society. When Loyola died in 1556 Jesuits could be found in every country in Europe, and at the universities they directed the new learning to the side of the old faith they represented. Nor was their sway confined to Europe, for members of the order were to be met with in the New World as well as in the Old, in the far East as well as the near West. There were altogether twelve provinces with 65 residences and 1,500 members. The imagination responds to the fascination of the labors of Xavier in India and Japan. For if the members of the Company were soldiers, assuredly Xavier was a knight-errant. The sober historian, however, notes that some of the greatest of the Jesuit triumphs were reached in its founder's own country.

After all action there comes reaction. After the struggle of over seven hundred years with the Moors there came reaction, and among the outstanding forces overcoming this reaction were such Jesuits as Araoz and Le Fèvre. They preached and they taught, they visited the sick and they practised the Spiritual Exercises, making friends with men of power and position. Francis Borgia, the grandson of Pope Alexander VI, was one of the chief nobles of Aragon, and the attraction of the Jesuit fathers made him determined to seek admission to their Society.

By the Council of Trent the Church of Rome was reformed, and at it Lainez and Salmeron, Jay and Covillon took a prominent part. Lainez influenced the Council in 1546 in its decisions on such matters as justification by faith, and we must not forget the fact that when he attended the final session of this Council in 1561 as general of the Society of Jesus he resolutely represented the extreme ultramontane attitude. Jesuits like Bellarmine and Suarez, Molina and Mariana agree that the Church is the most perfect of all governments, and the Black Army of Roman Catholicism, then as now, regards the pope as infallible.

The tone of the Jesuits towards the secular state is as disapproving as it is approving towards the religious state, yet Suarez represents the state as a secular institution. The tyranny of the sovereign is the object of their perpetual dread. As Machiavelli separated his aspects of the state in practice, so the Jesuits separated theirs in theory, for no writers have more acutely analyzed the temporal and the spiritual powers. They allow the king as law maker and the clergy to stand outside the jurisdiction of the secular judge. The power of the pope is unlimited and comes directly from God. The power of the king is unlimited and comes only indirectly from God. Hence every sovereign comes originally from popular appointment. There is a tacit revolt against the Aristotelean notion that men come together in the state in order to realize the good life which otherwise is not possible. Such a view conflicts with the perfectness of the Church. The Jesuits deem that God drives men to union, and from this union unconsciously comes political power.

Political power, so these authors contend, lies with the people, who are by nature all free and equal. Is Adam an obstacle to such a view? Not in the least. For is it not obvious that the patriarch possessed economic, not political, power? The whole community possesses power, which it exercises through the king or the ruling body it elect. Such a condition is more often implicit than explicit. There is the definite original con-

tract between the king, who is assumed to belong to the Roman communion, and the people. The sovereignty of the people precedes all actual rule and it forms part of the 'jus gentium' (see Chapter 78). Hence it is easy to justify the deposing power. As a matter of fact, it was argued, since S. Peter is to feed the sheep of the Church, is it not perfectly certain that such a command carries with it the exclusion of the wolf from the state? Why did Christ say that He came to divide the son from the father if the Church is not to be able to separate sovereigns from subjects when need arises?

Clearly if the deposing power is to be allowed, tyrannicide is also allowed. There are two classes of tyrants—usurpers and despots. Usurpers may be slain at sight, despots may not be. The whole commonwealth must expressly or tacitly condemn them, though the tacit condemnation opens up a wide field. Mariana asks, in his On the King and the Institution of the King, published in 1599: 'Is it right to kill a tyrant'? He answers, Yes. In default of statesmen, 'this right belongs to each individual who means to risk his life for the benefit of the State.' Later he asks: 'Is it lawful to poison a tyrant'? Yes, it is lawful, but the poison is to be given to him in such a fashion that he is not aware of it; for if he is, it is suicide, and suicide is a sin.

The most impassioned supporters of the doctrine of natural right are the Dominicans and the Jesuits. In their views they tend to fall back on the law of nature as they imagine it existed in the days of Adam. The Jesuits agree, on the whole, that the civil commonalty rests on natural right; that in virtue of natural right, sovereignty belongs to the commonalty; and that the right of sovereignty precedes the commonalty, authorized and, indeed, compelled by the law of nature to delegate it. The positions taken up by Suarez are tolerably common to the Jesuits of the sixteenth century. He defends the people against the sovereign; he defends the poor against the rich; he defends liberty against absolutism; and he teaches the doctrine of tyrannicide. With Calvin, he holds that all power comes from God, and he also holds that the people possess sovereignty.

In his On the King and the Institution of the King Mariana sets out with an account of man in the state of nature—a unique conception in sixteenth-century thought—that might readily have been found in the pages of Rousseau. There is not a little in Book III to remind us of chapter eighteen of Machiavelli's The Prince. Hope and fear are, in his judgement, as potent as the Florentine deemed them to be.

Mariana feels not the slightest hesitation in defending tyrannicide. Resistance of a tyrant's will can be defended on the grounds of the sovereignty of the people and of the natural sense of mankind, as exhibited in history. The murder of a tyrant—that is to say, of a usurper—offers no difficulty. Jesuit theologians and philosophers are in thorough agreement that the tyrant can be killed by the very first comer without any sort of process, without the intervention of a court of justice or of a political assembly, above all when the assemblies of this class have been destroyed.

It is but a short step from the theory of Suarez and Mariana to the practice of Clément the Dominican and Ravaillac, of Louvel and Cadoudal, of the Gunpowder Plot. In 1610, on the assassination of Henry IV by Ravaillac, the Parlement of Paris condemned Mariana's teaching as insidious, impious and heretical. Certain of the theories of Suarez and Mariana may have been democratic in tone, but by their advocacy of tyrannicide they undid all the good that the rest of their writings did.

That Jesuit theory and practice in the domain of government coincided in South America is proved by the case of Paraguay at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was to be the age of the benevolent despots of which the Jesuits were the forerunners. In Paraguay the Jesuits gathered the Indians into townships built round a square.

The plan adopted was semi-communal, to which the large cattle farms lent themselves. The agricultural lands and workshops were practically the property of the community, who worked them under the direction of the two Jesuits who lived in every town. The cattle and the horses were used in common. The surplus capital went in the purchase of commodities from Buenos Aires and Spain. By the inventories taken by Bucarelli, viceroy of Buenos Aires, at the expulsion of

the order, it is clear that the Indians mainly wove cotton; sometimes they made as much as eight thousand five hundred yards of cloth in the space of two or three months. Besides weaving, they had tanneries, carpenters' shops, tailors, hat makers, coopers, cordage makers, boat builders, cartwrights and joiners. Nor were the finer arts of life disdained, for the Jesuits had silversmiths, musicians, painters, turners and printers.

The Jesuits thoroughly believed in the principle that if a man will not work neither shall he eat, and their teaching on this head was supported by the laborious life they all led. If an Indian did his work badly, he received no rations till he improved. The festivals of the Church varied the occupations of the Indians, and such days were all the more heartily enjoyed because of the consciousness that the joy and pleasure they afforded had been richly earned. The Indians worked, but they worked under supervision. If we bear in mind their childlike nature, it is easy to see how readily the custom of obedience to every command of the Jesuit was adopted. He came, he saw, he ordered, and it was for the Indian to obey his behest. True, the Jesuit trained some of the promising youth, though they obviously could not do much for the education of the mass of their subjects. So far as they could, they impressed habits of industry and good conduct, and this is saying much. On the other hand, it seems as if the excessive inculcation of obedience brought about that blind submissiveness to such despots as Francia and Lopez. Half the population of Paraguay perished in the war of the younger Lopez, the third of the dictators who ruled the country from 1818 to 1870. There is a credit as well as a debit side to the Jesuit method of education.

In his Letters on Paraguay Robertson reckons that the average Indian earned at least a hundred dollars a year, and that his food, hut and clothing did not cost fifty. He estimates the total value of a hundred thousand such workers and the property as £5,641,200.

It is true that the Jesuits were forbidden to engage in commerce, yet, despite this prohibition, the viceroy of India remarked to John IV of Portugal that they had in that country property worth twenty thousand crowns a year. Von Lang estimates that a little after the middle of the seventeenth century the 585 members of the Bavarian branch of the Society enjoyed a permanent income of 185,950 florins, and to this sum we must add fees, salaries, gifts and legacies. He calculates that between 1620 and 1700 the Jesuits received 800,000 florins in donations. These, indeed, are only examples of the vast wealth and the still vaster influence possessed by the Society of Jesus.

Such wealth for a time proved their undoing. There was general discontent in Roman Catholic countries due to the commercial operations of the Jesuits. In Portugal Pombal hated them because they opposed his measures of reform and they monopolized what remained of Portuguese commerce with India. In 1759 he deported them to Italy, and confiscated all their property in Portugal. In France there was widespread discredit caused by the failure of the Jesuit traders, and a royal edict abolished the Society in France in 1764. Charles III banished the Jesuits from Spain in 1767, and they were also expelled from Naples in 1767 and from Parma in 1768.

The bull which Paul III gave the Society in 1540 stated that it was formed 'especially for the purpose of instructing boys and ignorant persons in the Christian religion.' From the outside their skill is attested by Bacon as it is attested from the inside by Descartes, who had been their pupil. Here, however, as in Paraguay, their importance is a thing of the past. Their schools still exist, but they nowhere assume the prominent part they assumed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Jesuits who had taken all the vows spent fifteen to eighteen years in preparation for their labors. How thorough this preparation was is seen in the fact that they spent two years as novices and one as approved scholars, during which they were naturally engaged mainly in religious exercises. Then came three years devoted to the study of mathematics and philosophy, four years of theology, and, in the case of the more distinguished students, two years more spent in repetition and private theological study. Nor was the scheme theoretical. At some stage in

this arduous course the learners were sent to teach boys.

During the period when the Jesuit was a teacher no private studies were to stand in the way of his supreme service, and even his religious exercises were curtailed. 'This one thing I do' formed the motto of the aspiring teacher. With such singleness of aim and such definiteness of method there is no cause of wonder at the success the Jesuit schools achieved.

There was a rigid system of supervision, beginning with the monitor of the boys and ending with the general of the order. After the general came the provincial, appointed by the general. After the provincial came the rector, also appointed by the general for three years. After the rector came the prefect of studies, appointed by the provincial. The rector and the prefect of studies zealously watched the teachers, and the latter visited each teacher in his class at least once a fortnight in order to hear him teach.

The pupils belonged to two classes, those who were training for the order and the externs, who were merely scholars. Instruction was gratuitous to all. While Loyola had been anxious to enlist the sympathy of the nobility with his institution, in his schools neither poverty nor lowly extraction was allowed to stand in the way of a promising pupil. Nor can we overlook the fact that the Jesuits have always been ready to undertake the education of the poor, provided that they show capacity.

At a time when corporal punishment was the order of the day, it is much to the credit of the Jesuits that they rather employed emulation and the sense of honor as a spur to endeavor. One lad could pass another in class by his clever answers. Every class was divided into two hostile camps, called Rome and Carthage, which had pitched battles of questions on set subjects. A thorough mastery of Latin for all purposes, a sound knowledge of the theological and philosophical opinions of the teachers, skill in debate marked by readiness in reply—these were the qualities on which stress was laid by the intensely practical Jesuits, and these were the qualities which gave them their commanding position in the Europe of the Seventeenth century. Obedience to the ideal of Loyola must be preserved at all costs, and this meant that originality of mind, independence of judgement, the love of truth for its own sake, the judicial power of framing broad-based decisions—all were discouraged.

In spite of the versatility of the Jesuits, they have not produced great scholars, great scientists, great thinkers. Nor was this the aim of the Constitution. Loyola aimed at the production of an average of able men who could preach to the Indians of Paraguay, or teach in the University of Paris. Accordingly, there are not a few Jesuits who attained fame as scholars in such work as the editing of manuscripts, the deciphering of Latin inscriptions, the observation of planets, and the like. The fate of a man of outstanding mark is expulsion, of which the case of Father Tyrrell in 1906 is an instance.

The men who deserve the foremost place on the bead-roll of honor are not the Jesuits who framed the dogmas of the Council of Trent, who planned and plotted the overthrow of the Protestant powers, but the men who devoted themselves to the duty of preaching Christ to the peoples of Asia and America. Who can say enough for the activities of men like Isaac Jogues and Francis Xavier?

In his short life of forty-seven years Xavier taught men as much by his aspirations as by his accomplishments. Magellan and Pizarro, Cortés and Cabot, Drake and Raleigh made ventures for men, while Xavier made ventures for God. The spirit of adventure in his life is as transparent as in that of any of the sailors of the age.

On March 14, 1540, Ignatius summoned Xavier to his room and told him to leave Rome for Portugal the following day. In the spirit of implicit obedience Xavier accepted the commission by stopping to kiss the feet of his former companion; afterwards returning to his room to mend his tattered cassock and to prepare for his long journey to India. The voyage lasted six months, and while it lasted he seized any opportunity for doing good that presented itself. He tended the sick, he taught the children, and he preached, attracting all as much by the gaiety of his conversation as by the serenity of his soul. At Goa he worked among the Portuguese.

Travancore, the Fishery Coast, Mala-

bar, Ceylon and the Spice Islands were among the places visited. His letters are among the few human ones we meet in Jesuit annals, and in the yearning to see his friends we note the tenderness and the lovableness of the ascetic who was harsh only to himself. Yet we wonder at the scanty equipment of the missionary who could not speak any language of the folk to whom he ministered, who knew nothing of their past and little of their present. He spoke to the mass, not to the individual, and he seemed to regard the administration of baptism as the climax of his work. Superficial such toil must be, no matter how severe. Take the case of Bishop Corfe of Korea, who toiled for a generation laying the foundations of his work. Asked at the end of his days if he had made a convert, he answered, 'Thank God, not one.'

In the letters of Xavier we are struck with the acuteness of his remarks on the characteristics of the Brahmans and the Japanese, and his analysis of the abilities and temperament of the latter race is clear-sighted. At the same time the letters also strike us as being as general in tone as was his mission. There is seldom any account of the qualities of a particular native, while there is often an account of the qualities of the race to which he belongs. Nor did he omit to consider the commercial interests of the native who was told that if he became Christian he would, for instance, secure the good will of the Portuguese and live in security, for under the protection of their fleets he could trade and fish freely.

Xavier's experiences in Japan, then in a state of war, led him to make the most of his position as a representative of the king of Portugal. Nor can we deny that with Xavier, as with the Jesuits generally, the sacred and the secular were intermingled. This meddling with politics in Japan led to the persecution of converts by Hideyoshi, the all-powerful ruler, and it also led to trouble in India, where the most lasting work of the great missionary was accomplished. In the desire to be all things to all men, the Jesuit missionaries conceded much to native prejudices, recognizing, for instance, the social principle of caste and allotting a large place to what at best was no more than the modification of Hindu belief and practice. Compromise has at all times and in all places formed the weakness as well as the strength of the followers of Ignatius Loyola.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

HOW THE IDEA OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY TOOK SHAPE BETWEEN THE DAYS OF MACHIAVELLI AND HOBBES

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Political ideas are the most potent revolutionaries, and those advanced by the great thinkers discussed in this chapter are still charged with power to inspire and to destroy. The modern student of political movements and theories cannot fail to notice how the concepts of Machiavelli and More, Bodin, Milton, Winstanley and Hobbes, are revived in our own time, albeit backed by the authority of new names.

THE sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not only a period of great events and of great changes in the conditions of human life; they were a period also of very active political thinking, when new ideas about the state and government, about the relations of individuals with the state, and about the relations of states with one another, were gradually taking shape. And it is quite impossible to form a true conception of the development of human society without studying this movement of ideas. For men's ideas on such subjects necessarily have the most profound influence upon their actions. How great this influence can be we may judge from the effect upon the course of events which has been exercised in our own time by such theories as those of Socialism or self-determination.

In truth, abstract theories about society are among the most potent forces in the moulding of human destiny. It is mere superficiality to think that the only decisive things have been wars and treaties, the policies of statesmen, or even the working of economic forces. Underlying all these external facts, and at all times deeply influencing them, have been the dreams, the ideals and the theories that continually rise and jostle one another in the questing and bewildered minds of men. It is these that set great movements afoot; that cause wars—far more often than the ambitions of politicians; that find a halting and imperfect expression in laws and institutions; that determine the ways in which each generation tries to modify or guide the working of economic forces. The restless and unsatisfied mind of Man, always seeking explanations of the facts of life, and always making plans for mending them, is, indeed, the most vital element in human progress.

IT is easy and natural to identify the big governing ideas which have influenced political action with the names of the great men who gave to them the most pointed and forcible expression. For that reason we are apt to speak of Plato or Aristotle, of Machiavelli or Grotius, of Hobbes or Rousseau, as if they were the inventors of the great ideas with which their names are associated in our minds. But this is never a sound view. It is scarcely too much to say that no potent political idea has ever been, in the strict sense of the word, "invented" by any individual, however great. Always these ideas are inspired or suggested by the social facts and problems of the time to which the thinker belongs.

What the thinker does is to give clear and cogent expression to ideas that are floating in the mind of his generation. By doing so he gives them definition; he turns them from vague notions into intelligible principles or even dogmas; and the extent of the influence which he is able to wield depends not only upon

the force and vigor of his own thinking, but even more upon the degree to which he gives point and clarity to ideas that were already dimly present in the minds of his readers.

EVEN the greatest of thinkers cannot get away from the conditions and problems of his time. When Plato framed his ideal commonwealth he could think of no desirable form of society save a city state like the Athens in which he lived; he could not even conceive of civilized life as being possible without slavery. Even the very greatest thinkers, then, do not invent wholly new ideas; it is society as a whole that gradually frames them, and they are, in fact, inspired by the ever-new questions that are continually being raised by the stream of changing events. So the history of political thought is not merely a history of the ideas of a few thinkers; it is, in a real sense, the history of the changing outlook of civilized Man on the problems of political organization.

Nevertheless, we are right in concentrating our attention upon the outstanding political thinkers, not only because they give clear expression to the dominating political ideas of their time, but also because they are sometimes able to put these ideas with such force and vigor as to secure for them a longer life and influence than they might otherwise have enjoyed. The long prevalence of the lax political morality of the Renaissance was in no small degree due to the genius of Machiavelli; and the immense and lasting influence of the doctrine of state sovereignty owes a great deal to the irresistible logic of Hobbes.

But while we give due weight to the personal force and genius of great men, we must never allow ourselves to forget that they were no more than the mouthpieces of the thought of their time, which in its turn was shaped and moulded by the course of events. Events produce ideas; ideas shape events. It is no more possible to say whether events or ideas count for most in the fixing of human destiny than to say whether the hen or the egg came first.

The modern age begins with the intellectual movement known as the Renaissance, the essence of which was a breaking away from the forms and traditions of the Middle Ages and a return to the "humanism" of the ancient world—to the glorification of human personality and to pride in human power and human reason. This led to a new adventurousness of mind, to an impatience of old forms, in politics as in the arts, to an eagerness to explore new methods and ideas, which produced great results.

The political ideas of the Middle Ages—the idea of the universal spiritual power, vicegerent of God on earth, which limited or qualified the power of all earthly potentates, and the idea of feudalism which in theory regarded the sovereign as having only a limited authority and every social grade as having obligations as well as rights—had become almost dead forms. The pope himself had become simply an Italian prince, warring on equal terms with other princes, though enjoying by custom very lucrative rights as head of the Church. Everywhere princes, great or small, were claiming absolute authority, and paying deference to no earthly superior. Everywhere the old two-sided relations of feudalism were breaking down; either, as in Germany, the feudal lords were turning into absolute princes, or, as in France, they were being subjugated by the royal power.

MOREOVER, a new political force of the highest importance was rising into prominence—the national state, bound together not merely by ties of common obedience, as almost all states had hitherto been, but by the far stronger ties of natural affinity, springing from race, language and customs. Nobody yet clearly recognized the strength of the national bond and the power which it gave to the states which were fortunate enough to be cemented by it.

In actual fact, the great nation states—France, Spain, England—had been unified by the ruthless policy of almost despotic sovereigns—Louis XI and Francis I in France, Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain, Henry VII and Henry VIII in England; and these princes were just as merciless and unscrupulous in their methods as were the petty despots in Italy. They had had to fight, and they were still fighting, against the power of feudal barons and the mutual jealousies of long-separated provinces. They owed

MACHIAVELLI THE REALIST

Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), freethinking Italian statesman, was a representative figure of the 'renaissance of political thinking.' His fame rests on his 'Discourses' and still more on 'The Prince,' in which the 'Machiavellian' conception of statecraft is most ably expounded.

their victories not merely to the unscrupulousness of their methods, but, above all, to the fact that they were supported by the vague but strong and growing sentiment of nationality among their subjects.

It was this sentiment which formed their strength, and which enabled France, for example, to hold together even after such a crushing disaster as the battle of Pavia (1525). But it was natural that the political thinkers of a generation to which the national idea was still unfamiliar should attribute the greatness of these states primarily to the methods pursued by their rulers.

It is in the light of these facts and tendencies that we must read the work of the political thinkers of the Renaissance period. Two of them especially deserve study, as representing two very different aspects of the Renaissance mind: Niccolo Machiavelli and Sir Thomas More.

Machiavelli (1469-1527), whose name has become a synonym for the disregard of all moral obligations, was, in fact, a very honorable man, a devoted and loyal servant of the Florentine republic, of which he was a citizen; and, unlike many political thinkers, he never forgot that the end of all politics is the well-being not of privileged classes, but of the mass of plain people. Moreover, he was a patriotic Italian, who longed for Italian unity and dreamed of an Italy defended against invasion by a national militia, free to live her own life and develop her own civilization.

In his own lifetime he had seen Italy invaded and ravaged by the armies of the great national states, France and Spain. He had seen the decline of her brilliant civilization, wherein she had led the world in the fifteenth century; he had seen the distresses of her people, sheep without a shepherd capable of defending them. Only one man had been able, for a time, to hold his own in the confusion: the brilliant, wicked Cesare Borgia, who in striving to build up a state for himself had used all the weapons of lying, treachery and assassination to remove obstacles from his path, but had given peace and good government to the subjects of the petty tyrants he destroyed.

These events set Machiavelli inquiring about the secrets of the strength of states, and the methods by which rulers have made themselves strong and respected. He drew together examples and illustrations from the range of ancient and Italian history. He was the first political thinker to see the power of the national bond, and he longed to see Italy united by this bond. For these reasons he deserves to be described as the founder of modern political science.

But when he came to ask himself how a power capable of maintaining peace and justice could be built up, there seemed to be no other answer but that the methods pursued by the princes who had built up the power of other great states should be pursued. The prince must ruthlessly sweep out of his way all obstacles to his power. He must hold himself to be emancipated from the obligations of private morality. Ethics must be divorced from politics; otherwise, the unity and the firm rule which

were essential for the well-being of the mass of men could, it seemed, never be secured.

Machiavelli expounded these ideas in a little treatise called "The Prince," which he wrote in 1513 and addressed to the younger Lorenzo de' Medici, in the hope that he might take upon himself the terrible, cruel, necessary task of saving Italy. This famous treatise, which preaches the necessity of treachery and assassination as instruments of politics, was inspired by a fervid and passionate longing for national unity for peace and for good government.

"The Prince" came to be regarded as a sort of Devil's Bible for politicians. For three centuries it was the cynic's textbook. Yet it is easy to see how the theories it embodied arose, almost inevitably, from the circumstances of the time. And it should be added that there are two great and fruitful ideas implicit in Machiavelli's thinking. He was the first thinker to appreciate the potency of the national idea, and his clear apprehension of the necessity of a strong central power to hold the state together was, in fact, an anticipation of the doctrine of sovereignty, later wrought out more clearly by Hobbes and others.

The gentle and noble Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), who was a junior contemporary of Machiavelli, represents a very different aspect of Renaissance thought. His book, "Utopia" (Nowhere), was published in 1516—three years after Machiavelli's "The Prince" was written. It describes an ideal commonwealth, situated in the newly discovered lands of America: a commonwealth in which poverty is banished, education is universal, religious persecution is unknown and government is carried on by elected officers and a prince chosen for life. It is, indeed, a dream of a better world, unrelated to the actual world, though it contains many shrewd and kindly criticisms of the England of More's day, and of the folly of wars and conquests; the dream of a gentle Radical idealist, in harmony with the hopes and dreams of the Radicals of all ages. What marks it as belonging to the Renaissance is its complete emancipation from the dominance of old traditions and received notions.

It is not in any sense a scientific study of the forces that hold society together in the actual world, or a program of action for the future. It is the first and the best of the many Utopian dreams whereby men have reminded themselves that an ideal state of justice and happiness ought not to be unattainable by humanity; but, like all such day-dreams, it rather withdraws the mind of the reader from the practical task of improving the actual world of society than provides him with clear guidance as to how this task should be undertaken. For that reason, though it has given consolation to many, it has had very little real influence upon the actual development of human institutions. The Anabaptists of Germany adopted it as a sort of text-book in the early days of the Reformation; but they were the kind of visionaries whose fanaticism is an obstacle rather than an aid to progress.

In the next year after the publication of More's "Utopia" Luther nailed his theses to the door of the Wittenberg church; and the great upheaval of the Reformation began. It was to have the most profound reaction upon political thought.

On the one hand, the Reformation was a revolt against traditional and constituted authority, an assertion of the right of private judgement. It was essentially revolutionary. It repudiated the ideas which had been accepted by the Middle Ages about God's scheme for the government of the world through the pope and the emperor. For that reason, it was in some sense the parent of democracy. Among its first results were formidable revolutionary movements among the oppressed peasantry of South Germany, and among the Anabaptists of North Germany, both of whom, in a vague, confused way, went far towards repudiating all constituted authority, civil as well as religious, and dreamed of the institution of a wholly new social order, in which there should be no masters and all goods should be held in common. From these ideas descended, more or less directly, the democratic and socialistic movements of the seventeenth century.

Again, wherever the Reformation had to fight for its life, it tended to assume the extreme and militant form of Calvin-

ism; and Calvinism in Geneva, its birthplace, and in Scotland its second home, and later in New England, wrought out schemes of representative government for the Bible commonwealths which it strove to establish—schemes which gave to these lands the forms at any rate of democratic institutions on a far more complete scale than had ever before been seen in the modern world.

On one side of its influence, then, the Reformation pointed towards democracy, and supplied some of the models for its later advocates, such as Rousseau, though political democracy in any full sense was not to come into being anywhere in Europe until the era of the French Revolution. This might, indeed, seem to be the natural influence of the great upheaval of the Reformation upon political thought. Yet, strangely enough, its main immediate influence tended in precisely the opposite direction, and contributed to strengthen the power of lay princes, by establishing the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

How did this happen? In part it was due to the fact that kings and princes took command for their own purposes of the Reformation movement, and strove to add to their secular authority the immense spiritual power which the popes had wielded in the Middle Ages; while the Reformers eagerly upheld their patrons and supporters, comparing them with Josiah and other God-inspired protectors of the true faith. In part the Reformers were frightened by the excesses to which the revolution they commenced had given rise, and fell back upon the civil power as the divinely ordained means of maintaining order and discipline. This attitude is to be seen in Luther's fevered denunciations of the revolting peasants, with whose grievances he had at first sympathized.

But there was something deeper than this. In repudiating the long-established authority, first of the pope (which began when Luther burnt the papal bull of excommunication in 1520) and then of the emperor (which followed the Diet of Worms in 1521), the Reformers had destroyed the long-accepted sanctions of earthly power, together with the whole system of law and custom which rested on them. Was it to be believed that God had established no authority on earth whom it was his creatures' duty to obey? The Reformers could not rest in such a position.

In place of canon law and in place of the accepted doctrines of the medieval world which they were driven to renounce, they enthroned the Bible as God's rule for the world. What had the Bible to say about the sanctions of civil power, about the authorities which men ought to obey? There was no word there of priestly supremacy. Rather there was, in the New Testament, the text "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"; and in the Old Testament a multitude of examples of absolute monarchs who were endowed with the authority of God—good kings, who were the very instruments of God's will; bad kings, who had to be obeyed because they were sent as a punishment for the sins of the people.

From the Reformation onwards the Bible was used as a source of authoritative dicta on politics in a far greater degree than even in the Middle Ages; and all the arguments, in Protestant countries, both for and against monarchy turned mainly upon the interpretation of texts. And in the main (although there was always a current of teaching of another kind) the conclusion drawn was that the civil power, the power of the absolute kings or princes who ruled almost all Europe, was of divine ordination.

So the doctrines of divine right and of the absolute sovereignty of the state (however constituted) were immensely reinforced by, if they did not spring from, the Reformation. "There is nothing on earth more noble than the state," said Melanchthon, Luther's ablest coadjutor; and that phrase, which anticipates Hobbes, and justifies Louis XIV, but which could never have been enunciated in the Middle Ages, is the measure of the change which had been wrought in men's ideas. Luther shares with Machiavelli and Hobbes the credit of having been the chief propounder of the essential ideas upon which the modern state has been built up.

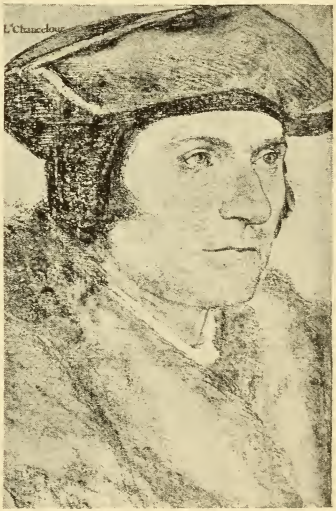
The Reformation also raised, in an insistent form, a difficult question upon which controversy has raged from that day to this—the question of the relations

of state and Church. Hitherto the state and the Church had been regarded as simply two aspects of the same society, of which the Church was the higher. But in the new order, when the sovereignty of the state was being loudly proclaimed, what ought their relations to be? Ought the Church to be subject to the state, as in the England of Henry VIII? Ought the state to be subordinate to the Church, as in the Geneva of Calvin? Or ought the two powers to be equal and coordinate, as, in theory, some attempt was made to make them in Scotland?

On the whole, the Reformers (except Calvin) inclined to the first view; but the conclusions which seemed to follow were difficult to accept. At Augsburg in 1555, and finally, after long wars, at Westphalia in 1648, the supremacy of the state was accepted in the extreme form embodied in the phrase "cuius regio ejus religio"—the religion of a country must follow the religion of its ruler within the limits of the three recognized faiths. But no one would have been prepared to follow this theory to its logical conclusion, and to admit that if a prince should become a Mahomedan he could force this faith upon all his subjects. The problem of Church and State did, in fact, raise the question of the limitation of the rights of sovereignty in its most acute form and, in spite of the attitude of most of the Reformers, kept alive the challenge to the despotic power of kings (which for two centuries to come was to be the accepted political system of most of Europe) more effectively than any other force.

Even in Roman Catholic countries, where it might have been supposed that the doctrine of the limitation of the lay power by the superior authority of the spiritual power would have been kept alive, this period saw the general acceptance of the doctrine of the absolute and unlimited power of the sovereign. When in the middle of the century the great Catholic revival or counter-Reformation began, the Church was too dependent upon the lay power to fight its claims; and because Philip II remained a loyal Catholic he was able to use the Inquisition as a tool of his absolute authority. Even the Republic of Venice, in a dispute over the exclusion of the Jesuits, asserted the absolute authority of the lay power as strongly as did ever Protestant despot; and Fra Paolo Sarpi defended this doctrine against the papal apologist Bellarmine.

In short, the main effect of the Reformation in the political sphere was to strengthen the doctrine of absolute power, and to reinforce it with the sanction of divine right. Not only did the despot seem to provide (as Machiavelli held) the only practical means of maintaining order and peace; he was now armed also with the sanction of divine authority. The currents of freethinking, which also sprang from the Reformation, were as yet, in the main, undercurrents. But they were to emerge with new force during the long period of religious wars which the Reformation brought about.



MORE THE HUMANIST

Sir Thomas More (1478-1535), statesman and scholar, was the most prominent figure of the Renaissance in England. Appointed Speaker of the House of Commons in 1523, he was Lord Chancellor from 1529 to 1532. His conscientious refusal to take the oath of supremacy in 1534 led to his execution in the following year.

Drawing by Holbein; British Museum

THE wars of religion, which raged during the second half of the sixteenth century in France, Scotland and the Netherlands, and which also menaced the national existence of England, gave rise to a great deal of searching discussion. Had kings or governments a right to impose their edicts upon bodies of their subjects who held strong convictions which they believed to be in accord with the will of God? If not, how could the state be held together? Might a minority resist the authority of the state when it believed it to be wrong? If so, might not the very existence of organized society, and of civilized life which depends upon it, be imperilled? Was religious unity essential, as western Europe had hitherto believed? Could society hold together if its members held violently opposed views upon the most fundamental questions?

These momentous questions were raised in the sharpest way in France, where the embittered conflicts of the two faiths threatened to bring anarchy and to break up the hard-won unity of the nation. The character of the great debate varied as the character of the struggle changed. At first the Protestant (Huguenot) minority were fighting for their very existence against the national government which permitted the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day. In order to justify their resistance to authority, the Huguenot thinkers worked out a theory of the limitation of the powers of government which was in conflict with the prevalent doctrine of the divine right of kings.

Then the Protestant leader, Henry IV, became by hereditary succession the legitimate king. He was supported not only by Protestants but by the party of the "Politiques"—Catholics who were willing, in order to save the state, not only to support the legitimate king, but to grant a reluctant toleration to Protestantism. The "politique" thinkers worked out a new form of the doctrine of divine right and state sovereignty, based upon the belief that the absolute power of the crown was the only means of avoiding anarchy; and the Huguenots, now their leader was king, forgot their advocacy of the right of resistance. But the more extreme Catholics, who refused to accept a Protestant king, and placed their loyalty to the Church above their loyalty to the state, took up the cause which the Huguenots had abandoned, and worked out a doctrine of popular sovereignty far more sweeping than the Huguenots had ever maintained, in order to justify their attitude. Thus the circumstances of the time brought out in sharp conflict the rival doctrines of state sovereignty and of popular rights, in a series of treatises which profoundly influenced the political thinking of the next century.

Among the Huguenots, in the first period, some writers (notably the great jurist Hotman, in a book called "Franco-Gallia") labored to prove from history that the power of the king was limited by the powers of other bodies in the state —just as, in the next century in England, the great lawyers argued that the common law and the rights of Parliament were independent of the power of the crown. These writers thus tried to base the limitation of arbitrary power not on abstract right, but on historical evidence.

Other writers (notably the author of "Vindiciae contra Tyrannos," probably Duplessis-Mornay) made a bolder challenge. They asserted the right of resistance against rulers who defied the will of God (but who was to interpret the will of God?) or who threatened to ruin the state. They maintained that every state existed by virtue of an implied covenant between God and the people, whereby God gave prosperity so long as His will was obeyed; and that every king existed by virtue of an implied contract with his people, which would be broken by bad government. Here was emerging the sort of doctrine which led in the next century to the execution of Charles I.

IN the later years of the long struggle the Catholic writers were even bolder in the assertion of popular rights. In such a book as Althusius' "Politics" (1603) the ultimate and inalienable sovereignty of the whole people is clearly proclaimed; all governments, whatever their form, are declared to be derived from the people's assent, and are conceived of as holding their power by a contract with the people, on condition of giving good government. But people and governments alike are subject to "natural law" —the moral law—which is conceived of as being prior to all other law, and as giving it validity. Natural law is, indeed,

the law of God, implanted in the hearts of men; and the claim put forward for the Church and the pope is that they interpret the "natural law," and can, therefore, when it is broken, excuse peoples from the obligation of obedience to their governors.

Thus, from Protestant and Catholic sources alike, ideas were being diffused which, as they slowly worked upon the minds of men, were in the long run to give birth to the theory and the institutions of democracy. But these ideas were not yet powerful. They were propounded only by the parties which were (in the judgement of most people) menacing peace and order, turning the world upside down, and making stable and decent social life impossible. Weary of civil anarchy, men turned to the only authority which seemed likely to keep it in check.

In this period of very active speculation, the school of thought which had the deepest and most far-reaching influence was that which taught that absolute authority was indispensable for the health, and even for the existence, of the state. Even in England, with her Parliamentary traditions, this was so; Bacon and Sir Thomas Smith saw in the sovereignty of the crown the only safeguard against anarchy, and sometimes wrote as if they regarded Parliament as no more than an advisory council. All this prepared the way for the claim of divine right put forward by James I in his "True Law of Free Monarchy."

The ablest and most convincing advocate of these doctrines was the French "politique" philosopher, Jean Bodin (1530-1596). Bodin's "Republic," published in 1577, may be described as the first systematic treatise on political science since the days of Aristotle. It had a very great influence. When Bodin visited England, he found that his book was being used as a text-book at Cambridge, and the ideas which he propounded in its pages had an immense and continuing influence.

Bodin's greatest contribution to political thought was the doctrine of sovereignty, of which he was the real initiator; and down to our own time this doctrine has been accepted as one of the axioms of political thought. In every state, Bodin argued, there must be an ultimate, supreme, sovereign authority, whose power can neither be limited nor divided nor alienated; it must be above law, because it makes law. Indeed, a state is a state precisely because it has a recognized authority which makes laws that everybody must obey; and if or when the sovereign fails to obtain obedience, the state dissolves in anarchy. No doubt this sovereign power is subject to the natural or moral law; but there is no way of enforcing its obedience.

Civil law, it must be noted, is a different thing from "natural" law, and may be in conflict with it; civil law derives all its authority from the sovereign power which enforces it. There are many things which it would be unwise or unpractical for the sovereign power to enforce. Bodin thought that, in the circumstances of his time, religious uniformity ought not to be enforced, though the state would have been stronger if it had been possible. Yet the authority of the sovereign power must be, and cannot but be, absolute and unlimited—there must be a final deciding authority if the state is to exist at all.

Of course, the sovereign power may take different forms: it may be a representative democratic body, like the "King in Parliament" in modern Britain. Bodin himself preferred that the sovereign power should reside in a monarch, because then it could act freely and vigorously, though he recognized that it might reside in a republic, as in Venice. But wherever it resides, no rival authority can check or limit it. Bodin would have nothing to do with vague assertions of the sovereignty of the people. For him the one essential was that there should be a definite power able to issue orders which would be obeyed, and the one vital question was, who constitutes this power?

The doctrine of state sovereignty was to have a very important influence upon the development of political thinking; the argument that, in every state, there must be some final deciding authority was too cogent not to be generally accepted even by those who resisted absolute monarchy. And the form which Bodin and his followers gave to this doctrine immensely reinforced the growth of monarchical power in all the European

countries. Supported both by the sanctions of religion, which treated the civil power as sacred, and by the teachings of political philosophers, absolute monarchy became the normal form of government in western Europe, everywhere save in Britain and Holland, down to the time of the French Revolution; and almost everybody believed that it afforded the one sure means of giving strength and stability to the state. Yet, all the time, the contrary set of ideas, the theory that the power of government ought to be limited, and that ultimate sovereignty must reside in the people, continued to influence many minds; and the course of events in England gave encouragement to these ideas.

The Reformation had brought into the world "not peace, but a sword." It had been followed not only by desolating civil wars between adherents of the rival faiths, which threatened dissolution to the states which had suffered from them; it had led also to furious and continued wars between states which recognized no superior authority capable of holding them in check, and no law higher than their own desires. Christendom seemed to have fallen into a state of anarchy; and this anarchy came to a height in the first half of the seventeenth century, when the Thirty Years' War (*see* page 2079) gradually drew into its orbit almost every European state.

Wars had been frequent enough in the Middle Ages; but, at least, in that period there had existed in theory a supreme power (or two supreme powers), the pope and the emperor, the representatives on earth of the majesty of God; and at least it had always been assumed that there was a body of law which all peoples ought to obey, and of which the pope and the emperor were the authoritative exponents. Freely as it was disregarded, this body of law—the law of Nature and the law of nations—was not without influence; it secured, at the least, a general acceptance of such principles as the sanctity of treaties and the inviolability of heralds or ambassadors.

In the breaking-up of old traditions which resulted from the Renaissance and the Reformation, Europe found herself without any common authority, and even the idea of a general obligation to observe the law of Nature had become faint. The sovereign state, which was being set up as the supreme object of veneration—the "noblest thing on earth," as Melanchthon called it—and its despotic masters, monarchs by divine right, were unwilling to recognize the existence of any authority superior to their own.

When Bodin propounded the doctrine of state sovereignty, he paid lip-service, indeed, to the old theory of natural law, admitting that even sovereign princes ought to obey it; but he went on to say that there was no way of forcing them to do so. For him, as for Hobbes after him, the only law that deserved the name of law was that which derived its validity from the edicts of a sovereign able to enforce it; and since there was no power able to enforce obedience upon the masters of sovereign states, there could be no means of enforcing between states that reign of law to secure which for their citizens states existed. But it was not easy for men to rest content with these conclusions, or to believe that the law of the jungle was the only law for states and their masters.

When the absolute sovereignty of the state was being asserted, and when it was expressing itself in constant warfare, an opposite idea began to gain prevalence—the idea that there ought to be a body of international law binding upon all states, and that there ought to be some sort of authority able to enforce it. And these ideas have been working alongside the idea of the sovereign state from that day to this.

The first notable proof of the uneasiness which the anarchy of Europe was creating was provided by the duc de Sully, chief minister of the French king Henry IV. In his "Memoirs," written after his retirement, Sully asserted that his master had intended to persuade Europe to adopt a Grand Design, whereby all the states were to be grouped together in a common organization, whose business it would be to maintain peace and international justice. It is improbable that Henry IV ever seriously entertained such a design; most likely it was the offspring of Sully's own brain. But the fact that a statesman of Sully's wide experience should have entertained a project which implied a limitation upon the absolute sovereignty of individual

states, and was, therefore, in conflict with the reigning ideas of the time, shows how uneasy many thinking men were about the state of anarchy into which these ideas were helping to plunge Europe.

Sully's Grand Design came to nothing; the Thirty Years' War, which was beginning as he wrote, formed an ironic commentary upon it. But it was the first of a series of projects of the same kind which exercised the minds of dreamers and thinkers during the next two centuries, and which led, in the long run, first to the experiment of the Holy Alliance in 1815, and then to the League of Nations in 1919. The doctrine of the absolute and sovereign state was the ruling political doctrine of the modern age. But it was never unchallenged; on the one hand, it was challenged by theories of popular sovereignty and the limitation of power within individual states, and, on the other hand, it was challenged by the belief that there ought to be some superior authority representative of civilization as a whole to check or limit the lawlessness of sovereign states in their relations with one another.

A far more potent expression of this latter idea than impracticable schemes like Sully's was afforded by the growth of international law, which was one of the most remarkable features of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The honor of being the father or originator of international law has been generally assigned to the Dutchman, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), whose greatest book, "De Jure Belli ac Pacis," published in 1625, is certainly one of the most important landmarks of political thought.

Grotius did not invent the ideas which he set forth. The idea that there was a natural or moral law independent of civil law, and binding upon all men just because they were men, was, as we have seen, one of the commonplaces of all political thought during this age. Even the idea of applying these principles to the relations between states was not original to Grotius; he borrowed wholesale from a number of Spanish scholastic writers, notably Ayala and Gentilis, who had laid down rules for the guidance of Spanish statesmen and commanders, drawn from the jurists of the Middle Ages.

What was significant about Grotius' work was that, himself a Protestant, and writing at a time when the doctrine of unlimited state sovereignty was in the ascendant, he brought back into politics the idea of the obligation of ethical law. And what was even more remarkable still was that, although the principles defined by him and by the writers on international law who succeeded him had never been laid down by any sovereign power, and were never enforced by any supreme authority, they were, nevertheless, generally accepted and observed. In the treaties of 1648 which ended the Thirty Years' War reference is made to the "public law of Europe" as something of unquestioned validity; and although there were no international courts to enforce it, it was in fact enforced in the courts of every civilized state.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, while the Thirty Years' War was raging and the theories of international law were being brought to birth, the great debate upon the nature and meaning of the state and the foundations of social order was carried on unflaggingly. In Europe the high Catholics fought a losing fight against the growing strength of absolute monarchy, as in the treatise of Suarez (1617), who rejected the doctrine of divine right, and asserted the right of both Church and people to depose bad kings; but absolutism was becoming the accepted mode of government, because it seemed to be the surest safeguard against disorder; and a second-rate treatise like Lebret's "Souveraineté du Roy" (1632) represented the generally accepted view.

On the continent of Europe, indeed, the long debate had practically come to an end and it was not to be seriously reopened until the philosophers of the eighteenth century, Montesquieu and Rousseau, prepared the way for the French Revolution. Under deadening despotism political thought became quiescent, except on the question of the relations of State and Church, whereon fierce controversy raged between the upholders of papal supremacy and the French defenders of national independence in spiritual matters, or "Gallicanism," as it is styled.

It was in England that free and bold

thinking about political questions now found its home. England had hitherto contributed comparatively little to the common stock of European thought upon these issues, because, in her characteristic way, she had been content to maintain a working compromise, and to let sleeping dogs lie. But under the Stuart kings she found herself plunged into a very searching discussion upon fundamentals; the conflict between Crown and Parliament, and the demand of the Puritans and the sectaries for freedom to follow their own way of life whatever government or Parliament might say, raised discussions which became more intense as the years passed, until they culminated in the Civil War and in the execution of Charles I—a challenge to the prevailing doctrines of absolutism which startled all Europe.

Henceforth, England became the model of the world for the development of ordered liberty and constitutional government; she became also the main seed-plot of political thinking, and the seeds were blown by all the winds into the new world of America, where they sprouted vigorously, and into the old world of Europe, where for a long time they could not thrive, yet lay hidden in the crevices of the soil, ready to germinate when favoring circumstances came.

It is impossible here to give any full account of the long series of books and pamphlets on these great subjects which were published both in England and in Scotland between the accession of James I (1603) and the Restoration of Charles II (1660). On the one hand, there were defences of divine right, or of royal prerogative, by King James himself, and by lawyers and divines. On the other hand there were attacks upon these doctrines, from two points of view—from religious writers who claimed freedom of thought in spiritual matters; from political writers who denied the rights asserted for monarchy. As the years passed and the controversy became more bitter, the assertion of popular rights became more vigorous and unqualified. At first the appeal was rather to history than to philosophy; and the claims of monarchy were refuted not by an appeal to abstract principle, but by an assertion of the ancient inherited liberties of England. Coke asserted the sovereignty of the common law; Selden furbished up the "ensigns armorial" of Parliamentary power; Prynne collected all the medieval precedents upon which a claim for the sovereignty of Parliament could be based (*see* "The Early Days of Parliamentary Government," page 2105).

In all this, however, there was no direct appeal to principle—no assertions of doctrines applicable alike to all peoples and all times; and these antiquarian arguments contributed, directly, very little to the political thought of the world. Such arguments might form the foundation of the claim to the liberties asserted in the Petition of Right for Englishmen, but they were valid only for England. The fifteenth-century precedents for limiting the power of kings or for deposing them were really irrelevant to the main debate. They did not answer the questions whether it was not necessary for the existence of the state that there should be an unlimited sovereign power, or how that power should be constituted.

The fifteenth-century experiments led to the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses, which had only been healed by the despotism of Edward IV and Henry VII; and now the similar experiments of the seventeenth century were also leading to anarchy and civil war. Historical precedents were not in themselves convincing, and when the conflict reached its crisis, men were driven back upon the assertion of abstract principles. When the Civil War broke out, and still more when the execution of the king was followed by the abolition of the old historic constitution, purely historical arguments fell into the background.

Sovereignty had been claimed for Parliament as against the king. But what validity was there in this claim? In 1644 the Scottish divine, Samuel Rutherford, in a crabbed treatise called "Lex Rex," tried to demonstrate that the only valid sovereignty was that of the whole people, king and Parliament being alike instruments of their will. Yet more trenchantly, John Lilburne and the Levellers took up the same position in the later years of the Civil War, and their bold challenge to all established institutions, to all the hierarchy of class and the securities of property, aroused the same

kind of alarm as the Jacobinism of the French Revolution.

There was no end to the visionary schemes for the reconstitution of society to which the years following the execution of Charles I gave birth. They ranged from the fanatical theocracy desired by the Fifth Monarchy men to the system of communism proposed in Winstanley's "Law of Freedom" (1652). Once the established power of a recognized sovereign had been broken down, there was no firm ground on which to build the structure of a new social order, no security of life save what was given by the despotic power of the army—a despotism far more unqualified than the Tudors had ever wielded, or the Stuarts aspired to possess. It was in vain that the army chiefs tried to lay down the lines of an unalterable constitution in the Instrument of Government; the terms of the constitution were promptly challenged by the Parliament elected under it. Despite the ability of Cromwell and his colleagues, insecurity attended the whole Commonwealth regime, and this very insecurity seemed to demonstrate the necessity of a strong sovereign power for the very existence of ordered society.

There is not much of the abundant political writing of that time which anybody now reads. Occasionally, perhaps, a reader glances at Harrington's "Oceana" (1656)—a plan for a republic under aristocratic government, which in many ways anticipated modern ideas.

MILTON gave all his power for twenty years to this profound debate; but "Areopagitica," his plea for freedom of the press, is the only one of his political writings which is still much read. The two powerful "Defences of the English People," which he wrote in Latin (1651 and 1653) to confute the Dutch scholar Salmasius, provided the clearest and most trenchant arguments on the responsibility of monarchs and on popular sovereignty which had yet been written. But they were ahead of their time, and for that reason exercised less influence upon political thought than many treatises of less intellectual power.

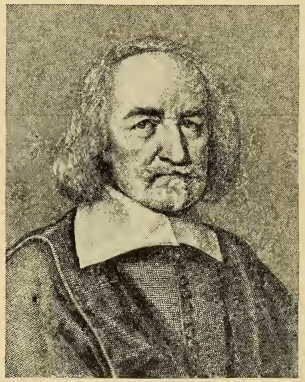
That generation was not willing to listen to the arguments of revolution, however nobly phrased. And the mere facts that the Commonwealth, despite the ability of its leaders, could not get itself established in security, that it depended wholly upon the will and mind of one man, that it collapsed swiftly after his death, and that it made way for a restoration of the old regime, seemed to provide the strongest of arguments in favor of the doctrines of absolutism. Charles II, when he returned from his travels, was, indeed, far from being an absolute monarch. In fact, the limitations of royal power established by the Long Parliament remained intact, and the English monarchy was very definitely a limited monarchy thenceforward, with limits far more clearly defined than they had ever been before. But in theory the doctrine of divine right was triumphant after the Restoration—so triumphant as to deceive James II and tempt him to his ruin; and the characteristic political philosophy of the Restoration period was that expounded in Sir Robert Filmer's "Patriarcha" (1680), wherein he traced the divine right of kings from the power granted to Adam by God.

Out of all this confused discussion, however, there emerged one great book which was to be one of the landmarks of political thought. This was "Leviathan, or the Matter, Form and Power of a Commonwealth," by Thomas Hobbes, published in 1651, in the midst of the anarchy that followed the execution of Charles I.

Hobbes' main purpose was to prove that the cause of anarchy, now and always, was the failure of a sovereign power to enforce its absolute obedience; and that the only safeguard against anarchy was the resolute enforcement of such obedience. Hobbes, who was by nature a sceptic, cared not a jot how the sovereign power was constituted, so long as it was strong. He was utterly indifferent to the usual arguments in favor of "divine right" by hereditary succession; for him the power that could enforce obedience was the only real sovereign. As for the "sovereignty of the people," that seemed to him a meaningless phrase, because it could not be realized. For him the sovereign was the power (whether vested in one man or a body of men) which sprang from a controlling will and could issue definite orders.

Being by nature not only a sceptic but a materialist, Hobbes did not rest his

argument upon appeals to texts of Scripture, or historical precedents, or any other external authorities, but solely upon reason. Half contemptuously, indeed, he made play with texts and historical references; but his real argument depended upon a cogent chain of reasoning which once his premises are granted, is irresistible. And he is master of such a nervous, athletic, pellucid style that even when the reader is in revolt against the conclusions to which he is being drawn, he finds it difficult to resist them.



HOBBES OF MALMESBURY

Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) has claims to be regarded as the greatest English political philosopher. His most famous work, 'The Leviathan,' published in 1651, is a forceful exposition of the doctrine of the omnipotent State.

Hobbes took two widely accepted ideas and gave them a new twist. First, he took the law of Nature and reduced it, in the last resort, to Man's instinct of self-preservation. From this root he derived a series of eighteen lofty moral principles, all tending to bring about a state of peace and justice such as would make life safe and happy. But the reader has an uneasy feeling that Hobbes has his tongue in his cheek as he sets forth these unimpeachable orthodoxies. Suddenly he turns upon you and points out that these laws of Nature are binding only upon men's consciences, and that every man is his own judge as to whether they conduce to his well-being or not. Their validity depends upon a degree of general enlightenment which never exists. They are not really laws, but "conclusions or theorems concerning what conduceth to the conservation" of life.

Next, Hobbes took the theory of social contract—the theory that a contract or agreement is implied in the existence of any state—and to this also he gave a new turn. Like many writers before him, and many after him, he imagined what Man would be like in a "state of Nature"—that is to say, without the restraints and protection of the state. The idea is, of course, inconceivable, for it is part of the definition of Man that he is a political animal—that he does not become fully human until he is a member of a political society.

But, if we accept the hypothesis, Hobbes' account of pre-social Man is less unreal than that of other writers. He saw that, apart from society, it was folly to conceive of Man as a noble creature, governed by the laws of Nature. In that condition, all men would be equal, and all would have an equal right to all things, including one another's lives and possessions; all would live in constant dread of their neighbors; and their lives would therefore be "nasty, brutish and short." Consequently, they must be driven by the fundamental law of Nature—the desire for self-preservation—to abandon their ruinous liberty, and by a compact of all with all to set up a common sovereign, a single will in place of their many conflicting wills; only on this condition could they hope for peace or law; only by giving up absolute liberty could they hope for security.

But the compact thus made (implicit in the existence of any organized state) is irrevocable, and the sovereignty it establishes must be unlimited and indivisible. There must be a real and permanent substitution of one will for many wills. The one will may be that of a monarch, or that of a small group, or that of the majority among a large number of voters; but somewhere there must be a final, decisive, illimitable and indivisible authority, from which all lesser authorities, set up for convenience, derive their validity. This is the essence of the state. Unless one great personality ("Leviathan") has been substituted for many

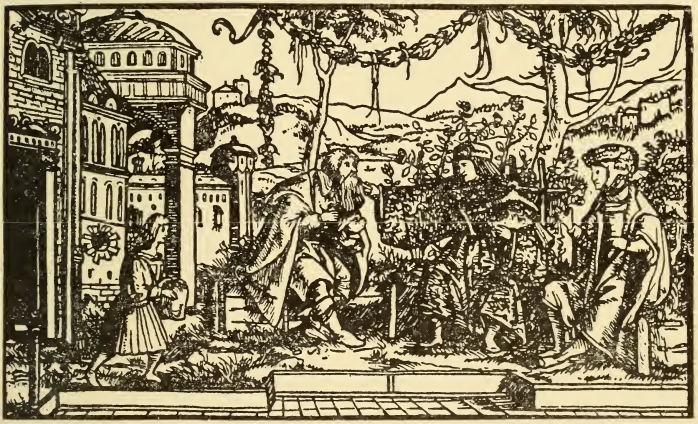
conflicting personalities, the state does not exist; and if the sovereign power is invaded or broken down, anarchy will return.

Hobbes was as well aware as anybody that there never had been a moment when all the members of a state held a meeting and adopted a solemn resolution to set up a sovereign power. He was merely using the forms of speech of his time to express the idea that in the very existence of a state there is implied a common acceptance by all its citizens of its sovereign authority. And at least his view of the original contract is less unreal than that of most other writers who have made play with this notion of a contractual obligation.

His view that the citizens of a state must be regarded as having agreed to set up its sovereignty, and to subordinate their wills to its will, is less unreal than the theory that they have formally agreed to set up a certain kind of state, or that they have made a definite agreement with the sovereign as to the limits within which his power is to be exercised. If we are to make use of the artificial notion of a contract at all, as a means of explaining the tie that holds a society together, the form given to it by Hobbes is less unsatisfactory than other forms which it later assumed in the philosophy of Locke or of Rousseau.

Nor does Hobbes identify his "sovereign" with a monarch; he assumes throughout that the "sovereign" may be an assembly, and, in the case of a limited monarchy, he insists that the real sovereign is not the monarch, but the power (however constituted) which is able to limit the monarch, who is, in fact, no more than a subordinate officer of the real sovereign. If he has a definite preference for monarchy, it is solely because he feels that under monarchy sovereignty is likely to be more efficacious in action; and his deepest conviction is that, for social health, it is essential that the sovereign, however constituted, should be swiftly and easily operative.

Thus his doctrine is true (or false) for all forms of government; and his supreme contribution to political thought is the doctrine of state sovereignty, of which he



TELLING THE TALE OF UTOPIA

One of the most fecund excursions into political theory was Sir Thomas More's 'Utopia,' of which the first edition, in Latin, was published at Louvain in 1516. The first English translation, by Ralph Robynson, did not appear until 1551. The illustration given above is from the Basel edition of 1518 and shows Raphael Hythloday, the returned traveller, relating his experiences to More himself.

is the greatest exponent: the doctrine that the power of the state must be absolute if civilization is to exist; that resistance to it is the worst and most fatal of crimes; that in every state sovereignty is by its nature unlimited and indivisible; and that the healthiest state is the state in which the sovereign power is most clearly defined, and most able to exercise its power.

In his logical deductions from his premises Hobbes was quite unflinching. He insisted that the laws made by the sovereign are the sole source of right, and that justice consists simply in obedience to the laws. He would allow of no qualification of the absolute power of the state. Whatever the sovereign decrees is right, because the sovereign decrees it, for there is no higher authority. The state has an absolute right to dictate the opinions which its subjects shall hold if it sees fit to do so. And, since all law and justice depend upon the state, there is no law or justice in the relations between states; in regard to one another states are in the "state of Nature," all being equal, and all having an equal right to everything, limited only by their power to take it and hold it.

The doctrine of state sovereignty, thus unflinchingly defined by Hobbes, was too uncompromising ever to be completely accepted by the majority of men. But it has colored the greater part of political thinking, down to our own day. Whatever changes have come about in forms of government—that is to say, in the actual allocation of sovereignty—men have always been ready to assert the sovereignty of the state, both in regard to its own subjects and in its relations with other states; and democracies have been even more emphatic in their assertion of sovereignty than monarchies.

In spite of the continual claims, especially of the Churches, for liberty of conscience, in spite of much vague talk about the rights of minorities, in spite of a growing uneasiness about the lawlessness of international relations, the doctrine of state sovereignty has, in fact, been the ruling idea of modern politics throughout the Western world, ever since the older idea of a Republic of Christendom, ruled by the human spokesmen of the Will of God, was broken down by the Renaissance and the Reformation; and of all modern writers Hobbes has set forth this doctrine in its starkest form.

We have argued and fought as to who should wield this unlimited sovereignty; we have worshipped the sovereignty of Parliament; we have proclaimed the sovereignty of the people; we have fought for or against the sovereignty of the proletariat. Again, we have argued as to whether the sovereign power was rightly or wrongly used. But there have been few who have seriously attempted to question the sovereign power of the state in relation to its own citizens or in relation to other states.

On one important branch of political thought, Hobbes, with all his curious formalism, summed up the predominant modern attitude. He gave logical precision to the conclusions towards which the thought of Machiavelli, of Luther, of Bodin, and of James I were all trending.

CROMWELL AND THE PURITANS

DIVERSE FORCES OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL DISCONTENT CONTROLLED BY THE PERSONALITY OF A GREAT ENGLISHMAN

J. COURTENAY LOCKE

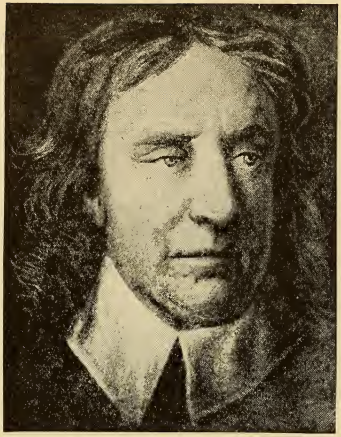
Carlyle's rehabilitation of a once-reviled character has had its reward, and long since Oliver Cromwell has taken his honored place in the English pantheon. In the chapter below the character and achievements of the great soldier-statesman are reviewed in connection with the Puritan movement of which he was one of the leading spirits.

In the year 1564 the English people remarked the emergence of a new element in the uneasy welter of the national life, and were sufficiently interested to give it a name. It was during that year, according to Fuller's "Church History," that the word "Puritan" was first applied to "the opposers of the Hierarchy and Church-Service, as smacking of superstition. But profane mouths quickly improved this nickname, therewith on every occasion to abuse pious people." Three points about this quotation deserve careful attention: first, that the word "Puritan" was originally a technically descriptive term and nothing more; secondly, that people who were not pious quickly twisted it into an insulting name for those who were; and thirdly, that Fuller says "pious," and not "sham-pious."

Now, as both an ardent Royalist and a clergyman of the Established Church, Fuller suffered a good deal at the hands of Puritans, but he does not call them hypocrites. The omission is striking, in view of the marked propensity to do so on the part of most other opponents of theirs, a propensity which has so muddied the wells of history—none too crystalline, perhaps, at the best of times—that an historian dealing with the period is almost forced to the task not merely of judging Puritanism by its ostensible aims and apparent achievements, but of ascertaining whether the Puritans were, in fact, reasonably honest fellows or a set of sour and canting rogues. In pursuing this investigation a useful preliminary is to trace the early history of the word "Puritan" itself as we find it in contemporary authorities.

First comes the question of dates. The whole trouble began in 1559 with Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, which split the Church into the two hostile camps of those who were more or less content with the situation produced by the act and those who were not content and wished the Church more drastically purified from the traces of popery. These latter were the Puritans, and in saying that the name was first applied to them five years afterwards Fuller is probably correct.

By 1572 we find the word well launched on its career of insult. In that year John Jones, in his "Baths of Bath," says: "Puritans are they named; pure I would they were." Jones was a physician who seems to have enjoyed a considerable amount of popular repute; as he was also very much a quack his moral judgments do not, perhaps, call for too careful consideration. In the same year Whitgift—afterwards archbishop of Canterbury—in his "Answer to an Admonition to the Parliament," says acidly to his opponents: "This name Puritan is very aptly given to these men, not because they be pure . . . but because they think themselves to be more pure than others, and separate themselves from all other Churches and congregations as spotted and defiled." Poor Whitgift had borne much baiting, and may be excused for straying somewhat from the narrow path of strictly logical controversy and mixing the technical with the purely abusive, especially as Thomas Cartwright was the bitterest of all the baiters.



CROMWELL THE PURITAN

Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) was a fervent Puritan of the mystical type. After a successful career as Parliamentary leader in the House of Commons and on the battlefield, he became, in 1653, Lord High Protector of the Commonwealth.

Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge; photo, Stearn

Next year, 1573, Cartwright continues the debate with his "Reply to Whitgift," in which he says: "If you mean those are Puritans who do set forth a true and perfect platform of reforming the Church, then the mark of this heresy reacheth unto those which made the Book of Common Prayer."

The two clerical packs—Puritan and anti-Puritan—are now in full cry, and we see from the evidence of moral John Jones that the non-clerical populace had pricked its ears at the sound of a desirable new word amid the angry snarlings, and straight adopted it. Twenty years later it was in general use as a handy jeer to sling at a foe, with little regard for fitness of application and none at all for theological opinions.

ROBERT GREENE, the poet, pamphleteer and dramatist, was one of a group, including Nash, Peele and Marlowe, which led the wildest of lives and held a common stock of theological views regarded by the shocked public opinion of the day as rank atheism. Greene paints a grim picture of his own profligate life in his "Repentance," written in 1592, in the course of which he says: "When I sorrowed for my wickedness they fell upon me in jesting manner, calling me Puritan." It is difficult to imagine a man to whom the name could be less fitly applied.

Another twenty years on, and in 1614 we find Barnaby Rich, in his "Honesty of This Age," saying: "He that hath not for every word an oath . . . they say he is a Puritan, a precise fool, not fit to hold a gentleman company." Rich was a soldier of fortune before he was a hack writer, and devoted to royalty and the nobility always, so he cannot be suspected of a prejudice either against swearing or in favor of Puritanism; he just states the fact for what it is worth as part of the manners of his age.

Lucy Hutchinson, writing about fifty years later, but speaking of the reign of

PURITAN AUTHORESS

This charmingly attired lady is Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson (1620-c. 1680), withal a rigid Puritan. She wrote her husband's memoirs (not published until 1806), wherein appears a graphic description of the insults and gibes endured by people who held moral views.

From a family portrait in 'Memoirs' 1815

James I, goes into the same matter at some length, and part of what she says squares curiously with the testimony of Rich, although she was his opposite in every personal respect. Her famous "Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson" contains this: "If any were grieved at the dishonor of the kingdom . . . or the unjust oppressions of the subject . . . he was a Puritan; if any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land or stood up for good order or government, he was a Puritan; all that crossed the views of the needy courtiers, the proud encroaching priests, the lewd nobility—whoever could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribald conversation, profane scoffs, derision of the Word of God and the like—all these were Puritans; and if Puritans, then enemies to the King and his government, seditious, factious, hypocrites, and, finally, the pest of the kingdom."

MILTON AS A YOUNG MAN

This miniature of the Puritan poet, John Milton (1608-74), demonstrates the truth of the report of his personal beauty, as well as the fact that it was often impossible to distinguish from outward appearance between Puritan and Cavalier.

Courtesy of the Duke of Buccleuch

Singularly echoing the last extract is this from a speech of Sir Benjamin Rudyard at the beginning of the Long Parliament, in the autumn of 1640. "Whosoever," said Sir Benjamin (and he was a Royalist), "squares his actions by any rule, either divine or human, he is a Puritan; whosoever would be governed by the king's laws, he is a Puritan. He that will not do whatsoever men would have him do, he is a Puritan. Their great work, their masterpiece now, is to make all those of the religion to be the suspected party of the kingdom."

A final quotation from the poet Milton brings the history of the work back to the theological arena in which the strife began and to the period of Laud's supremacy. In his "Reform of Church Discipline" Milton writes: "All those that found fault with the decrees of Convocation . . . straight were branded with the name of Puritans." After eighty years the clerical enemies of Puritanism had evidently gone far upon the road from theological disagreement to autocratic tyranny. Our group of quotations will be seen to afford a skeleton outline of the growth of popular hostility to Puritanism and a progressive history by hints, as it were, of what, in the popular view, the Puritans were. Before proceeding to a stricter examination of the justice or injustice of this judgment, it will be illuminating to ascertain briefly how such persons as Puritans came to exist at all.

That peoples, and consequently the historical reactions of peoples, are largely moulded by their geographical and climatic conditions is a conclusion to which the science of today is irresistibly and increasingly led. Those who inhabit Great Britain can readily understand that this should be so. They have ample experience of the changes of mood induced by changes of weather, and a racial characteristic is only a mood made hereditary.

So uniform are the results of this formative influence that, without risk of serious inaccuracy, we may generalize by saying that at the southern end of the

European geographical scale you find gaiety and at the northern gloom.

THE contrast is well seen if we compare, for instance, the ancient Greeks with the immediate forefathers of the English-speaking race—that vague assemblage of Teutonic peoples whom we call the Anglo-Saxons. Both were historically of the same blood; both were concerned, as all men are, with the eternal problem of human destiny, but the Greek in his vivid and sunny land probed its dark mysteries with a mental vivacity which enabled him to lose sight of their menace in the intellectual delight of working out their scientific details and their philosophic import. The Anglo-Saxon—child of a bleak and forbidding land, shaggy with savage forest, rain-chilled and mist-shrouded—had no intellectual delight whatever in his searchings. His concern with Fate was to armor himself against its pitiless sword-strokes, or, failing that, to bear his wounds with grim fortitude.

SIMPLICITY OF A PURITAN FAMILY

The sternly simple atmosphere of the Puritan mode of life and outlook is clearly conveyed by this family group. The picture forms the frontispiece of a music book published in 1563 which is entitled 'Tenor of the Whole Psalms' in four Parts. Its object was 'the abolishynge of other vayne and tryflynge ballades.'

In the early Teutonic literary remains —Beowulf and "The Complaint of Deor" may be cited as express instances—we have clear and ample evidence that such was the general attitude of the Anglo-Saxon in this regard, and if we describe it as a stoical fatalism, somber though not despairing, we have, as exactly as need be, the general characteristic of the Puritan—his hereditary mood. In other words, the Puritan, in being a Puritan, was exhibiting the normal instincts of his stock.

And here we find our comparison with the ancient Greeks useful and relevant in another way. Formal Christianity was the product of Greek thought; the Western Christian Church organization was the product of the kindred Latin thought; with neither product was the Puritan spirit ever quite at home. A Francis of Assisi has never arisen in the Teutonic world; it is unthinkable that one should.

These considerations make it easier to understand why at the great liberation of the Renaissance the English turned their freed minds first and chiefly to religion rather than to learning, philosophy or the arts; why the form of religion they ultimately found suitable to their needs was sternly Hebraistic rather than Christian; why the Latin Church organization was so heartily thrown overboard; and why the dread doctrine of predestination had no marked acceptance as promulgated by Augustine, but was swallowed with greedy relish when it had passed through the transmuting medium of the French Calvin's sardonic mind—a mind most Latin in its implacable logic, but by virtue of that very quality producing, in this instance, a doctrine exactly palatable to Teuton religious gloom.

ENGLISH mentality, thus dyed in essence, had been lit with fires strange to it during the Elizabethan age; existence then, bodily and mental, had blossomed into intense and bewildering color, into an enormous exultancy and the glory of adventure; men were

drunken with the mere joy of life. In the Puritan age they were growing sober, finding bitter dregs in the cup, discovering painfully that life could not be only joy. It was an age of winnowing succeeding to an age of garnering, and the winnowing, for the most part, resumed the old tools of religion.

Although Elizabeth died in 1603 we may, without distortion of fact, consider the typically rich portion of her age as extending from 1579 to 1611. To the earlier year belong Lyly's "Euphues" and Spenser's "Shepheardes Calendar"; to the later Shakespeare's "Tempest" and "Winter's Tale." If we call the period from 1611 to the Restoration the Puritan age, we shall see in the contrasted literature of the two ages the change passing over men's minds.

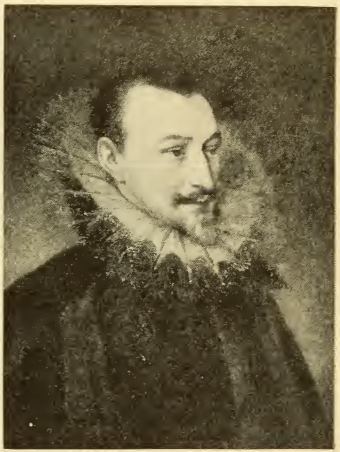
In the Elizabethan age the glowing colors, the shifting jewel-lights, the singing melodies and rich romantic luxuriance of Spenser; the wild and impious daring, the defiant challenging of Marlowe; the thrilling lyric ecstasy of both, had merged in the vaster genius of Shakespeare, who added a more exuberant and many-sided joy in life, a fuller and more varied music, a deeper searching into the dark profundities of human passion and human fate, and ended, with all the doubting and all the questioning done, on a note of lovely and sun-bathed serenity. But in that note of serenity the gigantic reach of Shakespeare went beyond his age. The men who came after him stopped short at the doubts and questions, and either despaired or found religion the one refuge.

Shakespeare saw the beginning of change. The year 1611 produced not only "The Tempest" and "The Winter's Tale," but Cyril Tourneur's "Atheist's Tragedy." The last has this passage:

> Then, if Death casts up
> Our total sum of joy and happiness,
> Let me have all my senses feasted in
> The abundant fullness of delight at once,
> And with a sweet insensible increase
> Of pleasing surfeit, melt into my dust.

This is the old "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die." Shakespeare might have created a character who would have spoken such words, but the point is that from Tourneur they come as his own thoughts, not as the thoughts of a character. They are the characteristic beginnings of the coming age.

The complete poems of John Donne were published in 1633, but although many of them were written earlier, in spirit he belongs entirely to the Puritan age. In the dark splendors of his love poems we find a tortured seeking for a light that never shone clearly, and in the



SPENSER THE ELIZABETHAN

The writings of Edmund Spenser (c. 1552-99), author of 'The Faerie Queene,' embody the lilting melody and riotous fancy that characterize Elizabethan literature as contrasted with the much more sober strains of the Puritan writers.

Courtesy of the Earl of Kinnoull

strivings and agonies of his religious verse a desperate struggle to attain what was not so much a healing peace as an uneasy cessation of strife. Vaughan and Herbert, who wrote at about the same time, did at last find haven in the stormless waters of religious mysticism, but their voyage had withdrawn them completely from the coasts of the everyday world.

SOMEWHAT later there were, indeed, such gayer spirits as Herrick, Suckling and Lovelace, who poured out

a delicious dancing ripple of untroubled music; but these brushed only the surface of things with a feather-light touch, and there are clear signs that they, too, had felt the change. Their delight has little passion; they are mirthful but not exultant; their clear piping never throbs to a deeper note; they are, in a word, more sober. In Lovelace's two finest lyrics—"To Althea from Prison," and "To Lucasta, on Going to the Wars"—there is an echo of the gravity which tinges the shining beauty of Milton's earlier poems, and, more strongly, all Andrew Marvell's non-satirical poetry.

Finally, John Bunyan gives us a complete explicit picture, drawn with the most lucid simplicity, of the prevalent spiritual problem of the age, and its characteristic solution. In the "Pilgrim's Progress" Man tests all the delights of the world and all the resources of the intellect, rejects them all as dangerous or inadequate, and finds religion the only sure road through life, though even that is beset with doctrinal dangers. We have variations on the theme in "The Holy War" and an intimate autobiographical version in "Grace Abounding."

An important illustration of the fact that Puritanism affected the nation irrespectively of political or class distinctions emerges from the list of writers we have just instanced, all of whom, with the exception of Milton, Marvell and Bunyan, were completely Royalist and either courtiers or of courtier habit; and no possible extension of our list would be found to result differently.

JOHN BUNYAN'S DREAM

This picture appeared as the frontispiece to the fourth edition (1680) of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' written by John Bunyan (1628-88). Above the sleeping tinker is the allegorical figure of Christian, typifying Man struggling on through the difficulties of life.

So much, then, for this profound spiritual and intellectual change, which we are regarding not as actual change, but as a reversion to normal after a temporary aberration which the impulse of the Renaissance was no longer able to support.

The Renaissance itself was no other than just such a reversion to normal on a vaster scale. Man's noble eagerness to know had been submerged in baser preoccupations by the fall of the Roman Empire, and his slowly garnered accumulations of knowledge shut away from him when the storehouse of the classical tongues was buried in barbarian wreckage. When the series of accidents which we call the Renaissance had laid bare once more that rich treasury of mental food, Man at first over-ate himself and suffered from indigestion; thereafter he fed more temperately and continued his harvesting, as, on the whole, he has ever since done.

Viewed in this light, the course of the Renaissance in England or elsewhere no longer appears as a succession of violent dislocations, or its issue in Puritanism as a phenomenon both bewildering and only laboriously explicable; but the questions of what the Puritans were and why an extremer section of them should ultimately be found in one political camp rather than another do still call for explanation. The two questions can be answered concurrently.

With a people recovering from a kind of intellectual orgy, those who are the first sober will naturally view with disgust those who remain drunk. In the beginning of our Puritan age this disgust had its focus in the court of James I, which, in no merely metaphorical sense, but a very literal one, was an extremely drunken court. Sir John Harrington, Elizabeth's old courtier-godson, gives us, in his "Nugae Antiquae," some illuminating details.

In July, 1606, Christian IV of Denmark visited his brother-in-law, James I, and Harrington has this to say about the resulting festivities:

> The sports began each day in such manner and such sort as well-nigh persuaded me of Mahomet's paradise. We had women, and, indeed, wine too, in such plenty as would have astonished every sober beholder. . . . I think the Dane hath strangely wrought on our good English nobles, for those whom I could never get to taste good liquor now follow the fashion and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety and are seen to roll about in intoxication.

He describes a mask of Solomon's Temple and the Queen of Sheba which was to have been held after dinner; it did not go quite smoothly. The Queen of Sheba was so drunk that she fell up the steps of the dais into Christian's lap, well bespattering him with her presents of wine, cream, jelly and other richnesses. Partly cleansed, he forgivingly tried to dance with her, but fell down himself and was carried away to bed—to the much-defilement of the bed. Hope, Faith and Charity came next—also drunk. Hope was only able to excuse herself before withdrawing hurriedly, and Faith staggered after her. Charity was little better, and quickly returned to Hope and Faith, who were both sick in the hall. Victory followed, but, being unable to speak her part, was led away and laid to sleep on the steps of the antechamber; while Peace forgot her character and beat the attendants about the head with her olive-branch. Small wonder that Harrington concludes:

> I ne'er did see such lack of good order, discretion and sobriety as I have now done . . . The great ladies do go well masked, and, indeed, it is the only show of their modesty.

From the defilement of such a court, thick, moreover, with scandals like the horrible affair of Robert Carr and the infamous Countess of Essex, the soberer part of the nobility withdrew, to share their disgust with the merchant class and the smaller landowners and to receive, in common with most of them, the opprobrious name of Puritan. That this was the usual sequel to any appearance of sobriety, whatever its form, our opening group of quotations showed us abundantly.

A glance at this aspect of the matter through the tolerant eyes of Shakespeare provides a good deal of instruction. In his "Twelfth Night" (which belongs to the year 1600) Malvolio reproves Sir Toby, with much justification and good sense, for his vinous rowdiness; Sir Toby retorts with: "Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?" A few lines later Maria says of him: "Marry, sometimes he is a kind of Puritan . . . an affectioned ass . . . crammed, as he thinks, with excellencies."

Malvolio was, without doubt, a conceited ass, but some of the excellencies were real; there was a smattering of nobility in him. The Countess Olivia, his mistress, could tell him: "You are sick of self-love, Malvolio, and taste with a distempered appetite"; yet she valued him, too, and later, when she thinks him ill, says: "Let some of my people have a special care of him: I would not have him miscarry for the half of my dowry." So we have it: a most worthy fellow, but too conscious of his own worth and indisposed to concede the merits of cakes and ale—such, Shakespeare thought, might well be called Puritan.

Richard Baxter, in his "Life," shows us that not only Shakespeare, but the

yokels of a Shropshire village thought the same thing. He says:

> When I heard them speak scornfully of others as Puritans whom I never knew, I was at first apt to believe all the lies and slanders wherewith they loaded them. But when I heard my own Father so reproached, and perceived the drunkards were the forwardest in the reproach, I perceived that it was mere malice. For my Father never scrupled Common Prayer or Ceremonies nor spake against Bishops . . . but only for reading Scripture when the rest were dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying in his house, and for reproving drunkards and swearers, and for talking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the life to come, he was reviled commonly by the name of Puritan, precisian and hypocrite.

The picture is clear enough—the merely grave and sober man was, by popular consent, lumped with the technical Puritan and called by his name, though he might agree with him in nothing but a gravely religious outlook and a habit of reading the Bible. As a natural result the two by degrees made common cause, and by the time of which Baxter writes—about 1625—the technical Puritan was most strenuously scrupling common prayer and ceremonies and speaking against bishops very loudly indeed.

Prayer books and bishops are not in themselves necessarily detestable—they may be even very highly commendable—yet both were widely detested. To trace this detestation to its true source would lead us back over a very long and difficult trail ending in John Wycliffe; but we shall not stray essentially if we take a short cut and say that Wycliffe had planted in the English mind an abiding contempt for the mass, the priest who performed it and the whole hierarchy to which the priest belonged, from the pope downwards. He also began the habit of reading the Bible and regarding it as the sole spiritual authority, and originated the series of translations which made the habit possible.

Contempt was inflamed into a hatred of all things popish by the fires of the Marian persecution, a hatred kept fresh by the memories enshrined in Foxe's immensely popular "Book of Martyrs," and intensified by the imminent fears springing successively from the assassination plots of Elizabeth's reign, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, the horrors of Spanish rule in the Netherlands, the menace of the Spanish Armada and the revelations of the Gunpowder Plot.

Now, bishops were suspect as advancing claims to powers not miraculous, for those had vanished with the daily miracle of transubstantiation, but still dubiously akin to those of Rome: this was one cause of their unpopularity. Another was that study of the Bible had convinced certain of the reformers that Presbyterianism and not Episcopacy was the divinely sanctioned order of the Church. The leader of these in England was Whitgift's old opponent, Thomas Cartwright, who returned from his studies at Geneva with a fanatical faith in Calvin's system of Church government, which he proclaimed unceasingly from the Margaret Chair of Divinity at Cambridge; the rule of bishops, according to Cartwright, was begotten of the devil.

Yet a third cause lay in the numberless obscure sects—another legacy of Wycliffe's—which sprang up among the humbler folk and of which Ben Jonson has given us caricatures in the Tribulation Wholesome and Zeal-of-the-Land Busy of "The Alchemist" and "Bartholomew Fair." These might have their eccentricities, but they were always sincere—they, or the class from which they sprang, provided 230 of the 277 persons burnt by Queen Mary—and they agreed that bishops were begotten of the devil, although they went further and said that presbyters were, too. Such an array of foes might have seemed enough for even the tough and bellicose bishops of those days, but in a manner worthy "the wisest fool in Christendom," King James set to work to find them more, if more were to be found.

On his first progress from Scotland to his new kingdom James had received the Millenary Petition, which set forth with reason and moderation certain concessions and adjustments whereby the security of the conformist Puritan clergy within the established Church might be assured. At the Hampton Court conference in January, 1604, James dealt roughly with the Petition and closed the proceedings in a heated outbreak. "If you aim at a Presbytery," he burst forth, "it agreeth as well with a monarchy as

God and the Devil. . . . How the Scottish Presbyters used the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it—No Bishop, no King. . . . If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else will harry them out of the land."

James remembered how, in his youth, Andrew Melville, the chief of the Scottish Presbyterians, had publicly shaken him by the sleeve and exhorted him as "God's silly vassal." For this and other humiliations even a king less vain might well have ceased to love Presbyterians; but it was at least tactless of him to respond in such terms to men who were Puritans but not necessarily Presbyterians, and to begin without delay his work of harrying them out of the land by ejecting some three hundred Puritan divines from their benefices.

PLANNING THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

The hatred and fear felt by the Puritans towards Papists was intensified by the discovery of a Roman Catholic plot to blow up Parliament on November 5, 1605. This engraving 'from the life' by Crispin Van der Passe shows the conspirators in conference. Third from the right is Guy Fawkes.

National Portrait Gallery, London

Even more remarkably tactless was James's persistent policy of conciliating both the English Catholics and Spain. Gunpowder Plot or no, the English Catholics were, after all, English; but Spain was by now the traditional enemy of England and, in all Protestant eyes, the very embodiment of hated Rome. Yet to Spain Sir Walter Raleigh was directly sacrificed and, indirectly, James's Protestant son-in-law, Frederick, elector palatine and luckless "Winter King" of Bohemia; the attempt was made, amid humiliating circumstances, to marry Prince Charles to a Spanish princess; for Spain's sake aid was withheld from Protestant belligerents in the Thirty Years' War, and finally, by Spain, through the influence of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, England was largely governed, or, rather, shamefully misgoverned.

The upshot was that the court was regarded as a nest of papistry as well as a hotbed of carnal vice. To support these two things is clearly no part of the accepted functions of Anglican bishops, nor need James's bishops be supposed to have favored them privately; but as their only powerful supporter must, of course, be self-preservatively supported in return, they did use the pulpits of the Established Church for the persistent advocacy of James's theory of "divine right," and thus shared in the odium of the court.

The offences of the Prayer Book were mainly two—it was admittedly derived largely from popish sources and full of insidious papistical compromises, and it assumed the existence and hierarchic powers of bishops. But it was at least passive in its offences; it could not, in the nature of things, enforce conformity by arrogant persecution or preach such theories as divine right. Furthermore, its moving beauty and venerable associations made it only less dear than the Bible itself to many who had no love whatever for bishops, and this diversity of sentiment was later to operate as a considerable factor in Puritan disruption.

But Puritan disruption was not yet, while Puritan cohesion was rapidly becoming a solid fact. The theological Puritan who desired only a modified Episcopalian Church; the Puritan who wished to make that Church Presbyterian; the Puritan by sobriety who cared specially for neither theological party; the sectarian who scorned or hated both and was hated by both; the mob who

howled for joy when Prince Charles returned still a bachelor from his wife hunt in Spain—all these were drawing together into a unity of antagonism to the king and his bishops. And the divine-right theory that was so confidently advanced gave them Parliament as another ally.

A king who came to the throne—as James did—in defiance of two Acts of Parliament might plausibly be imagined to have some contempt for Parliaments and their Acts; a tactful king, however, would certainly have concealed it. With no tact at all James told his first Parliament that:

The state of monarchy is the supremest thing upon earth, for kings are not only God's lieutenants upon earth and sit upon God's throne, but even by God Himself they are called gods. . . . They make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising and casting down, of life and death; judges are they over all their subjects and in all causes, and yet accountable to God only . . . As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy, so it is sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in height of his power. I will not be content that my power be disputed on . . . You derive all matters of privilege from me, and sit, not of your own right, but of my grace.

To the English Parliament, which in its time had made and unmade kings, these may well have been sufficiently unpalatable propositions, but it swallowed them as best it could, with no further protest than the reply: "We hold it an ancient, general and undoubted right of Parliament to debate freely all matters which properly concern the subject and his right or state; which freedom of debate being once foreclosed, the essence of the liberty of Parliament is withal dissolved."

So James was able to hand on to his son the antagonism of what was, in effect, a united Puritan party, consisting of all the Parliament and many of the people.

'CHRISTENDOM'S WISEST FOOL'

Tactless and bigoted James I (1566-1625), son of Mary Queen of Scots, alienated his Parliaments by his insistence upon the doctrine that monarchs rule by 'divine right' and hence are not accountable to their subjects for their actions.

Hampton Court Palace; by Royal permission

CHARLES spent all the years of his reign in estranging that party still further. He warned Parliament to "remember that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting and dissolution; therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be." He rewarded with the bishopric of St. Davids Roger Manwaring, who preached "that if any King shall command that which stand not in any opposition to the original laws of God, Nature, nations and the Gospel (though it be not correspondent in every circumstance to laws national and municipal), no subject may, without hazard of his own damnation in rebelling against God, question or disobey the will and pleasure of his sovereign."

He sold the monopoly of his subjects' common commodities of existence so thoroughly that an exasperated Member of Parliament was at length driven to say, with pungent truth:

It is a nest of wasps, or swarm of vermin, which have overcrept the land, I mean the monopolers and polers [pillagers] of the people. These, like the frogs of Egypt, have got possession of our dwellings, and we have scarce a room free from them: they sip in

our cup, they dip in our dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-vat, wash-bowl and powdering-tub; they share with the butler in his box, they have marked and sealed us from head to foot.

He dipped an illegal hand so deeply into their pockets that the anger of it thrilled, as a contemporary notes, "not only in the merchant's breast, but in every small vein through the kingdom."

He corrupted and suborned the judges until Chief Justice Finch could declare that "Acts of Parliament to take away the Royal power are void. They are void Acts of Parliament that bind the King not to command the subjects, their persons and goods, and I say their money too, for no Acts of Parliament make any difference"; and by these corrupted judges he sent his subjects to prison when they would submit no longer to be robbed or pillaged. He set his bishops to dragoon men's consciences so ardently that even the Cavalier Lord Digby was enraged into saying, "I am so inflamed with them that I am ready to cry out 'Down with them! Down with them! even unto the ground.'"

And yet men remained loyal. Their sole conception of government was still a monarchy modified by Parliament. They blamed the king's counsellors rather than the king, and it was again the Cavalier Digby who said that Strafford was "that grand apostate to the Commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be dispatched to the other"; while Lord Essex the Puritan gave the grim assent: "Stone-dead hath no fellow."

To find Cavalier and Puritan speaking on the same side is significant. As yet, in actual fact, there were no Puritans and no Cavaliers as members of opposed parties; there were only members of one Puritan Parliament, speaking with one voice—the voice of freedom. In the noble utterance of Sir Robert Phelips we can hear its passion still:

> I can live, although another without title be put to live with me [billeting, he means]; nay, I can live though I pay excises and impositions more than I do; but to have the liberty which is the soul of my life taken from me by power, and to be pent up in a gaol without remedy by law, and to be so

RELIGIOUS SECTS THAT EXISTED IN STUART ENGLAND

Diverse interpretations of the teachings of Wycliffe were largely responsible for the variety of religious beliefs and practices current in England in 1644, the date of this print. Twelve types of sectarianism are illustrated. The Libertines were Antinomian Anabaptists. The Adamites, the 'nudists' of their time, aimed at a return to the primitive state of innocence. The Divorcers 'would be quit of their wives for slight occasions.'

adjudged to perish . . . if this be law, why do we talk of our liberties? . . . Let the House consider to prepare our grievances fit for His Majesty's view, and then we shall think of such a supply as never Prince received, and with our moneys we shall give him our hearts and give him a new people raised from the dead.

But that people was not to be raised from the dead until it had passed through the bitter fires of civil war, and the divisions which caused the war arose over the question of religion.

There was no thought of letting England relax into a conglomeration of Independents. All wished to retain an established Church, but those most thoroughly sick of bishops wanted to make it Presbyterian in form, while those who loved the Prayer Book only less than the Bible, and who saw Scottish Presbyterianism degenerating into a sour and relentless tyranny, wished to retain Episcopacy, though in a modified and less powerful form.

Debate grew so high, we find in Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, "that we had like to have sheathed our swords in each other's bowels." The breach was widened by the growing powers which Parliament was forced to take to itself, in its efforts to find safeguards against a king who would not deal honestly and never kept his word. Those who justly feared the innovation of sovereignty transferred to Parliament from the king began to cling to him as to the lesser evil. Debate grew higher yet, passed beyond hope of reconcilement, and at last flamed out despairingly into the Civil War.

We can read the despair in Sir Edmund Verney's words to Hyde:

I have eaten the King's bread and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him; and choose rather to lose my life—which I am sure I shall do—to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend; for I will deal freely with you, I have no reverence for Bishops, for whom this quarrel subsists.

He died, as he had sadly foretold, in the first shock of battle, nobly Puritan in spite of all, while his son Sir Ralph, a spirit as noble and gallant as his father, was fighting for the Parliament. Such division took place in innumerable families; while many a cautious father divided his sons between the two sides and himself remained neutral at home. The sorrowful hesitation that racked all finer minds is felt in the letter of Sir William Waller the Parliamentarian to Sir Ralph Hopton the Royalist on the eve of battle:

My affections to you are so unchangeable that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship. We are both upon the stage, and we must act the parts assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour and without personal animosities.

A war begun in such hesitation, such reluctance, such doubt; between enemies so weakly divided; with forces so ill organized and unskilled; under so mistaken a belief that the contest would be short ("We all thought one battle would decide," Richard Baxter confessed after the drawn fight of Edgehill), was little likely to run other than an indecisive course, lacking a sterner motive or a stronger man. Both were soon at hand; let Sir Philip Warwick, Royalist member of Parliament for Radnor, show us the man:

The first time that ever I took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a very courtly young Gentleman (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes). I came one morning into the House well clad, and perceived a Gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable and his eloquence full of fervor.

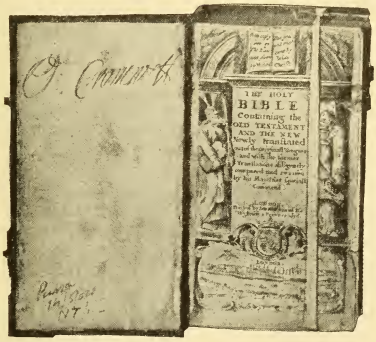
Add to this, ashen-grey hair worn in long curls, and eyes of a keen steely blue, profoundly sad, with a spark of pain in their depths, and we have the outward portrait of Oliver Cromwell.

This rough, plain figure, carelessly clad, was born in April, 1599, of sound knightly stock on both the paternal and maternal sides. He was the cousin of John Hampden; the only son of Robert Cromwell of Huntingdon; the nephew

and godson of Sir Oliver Cromwell; the grandson of Sir Henry Cromwell, called, for his profusion and magnificence, the Golden Knight; and the great-grandson of Sir Richard Cromwell, who was a chief favorite of Henry VIII and nephew of his great vicar-general, Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, and left vast estates in five counties to his family.

It is well to indulge in this much genealogy, if only because Charles II in 1654 offered £500 a year and other large rewards to any who should kill "by sword, pistol, or poison, a certain base mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell." If Oliver was a base mechanic fellow most of his fellows in Parliament, Lords and Commons, were so, too, and he would deserve no less and no more than any of them the appellation of "beggar on horseback." Of much the same degree of authenticity is the legend that Robert Cromwell was a brewer. It is not a shameful trade in any case, but there is no evidence that he was or was not; we only know that he was a country gentleman of modest estate (about £1,000 a year of our money), most of which descended to his son.

Oliver went to the ancient grammar school at Huntingdon, then, in 1616, to the University of Cambridge, as a fellow-commoner of Sidney Sussex College. At Cambridge he seems to have been more athlete than scholar; he took no degree and probably carried away no more than the average amount of learning. Latin, then the spoken and written tongue of diplomacy, he was able to use for diplomatic purposes when the time came, though, according to Bishop Burnet, he spoke it "but viciously and scantily." Many modern statesmen speak French this way. There is a legend that from Cambridge Oliver went to study law at Lincoln's Inn. Perhaps he did—it was a common custom among men of his class in order to prepare themselves for the magistracy and the government of their estates—but there is no evidence.



CROMWELL'S BIBLE

The profound influence of the Bible on Oliver Cromwell was clearly reflected in the language he employed for both conversation and letters. His personal copy, with his signature on the fly-leaf, is here reproduced.

London Museum

We know with certainty that in 1620 he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir James Bourchier; that he sat for Huntingdon in the third Parliament of 1628, and on its dissolution retired again to the country and occupied himself in farming and the duties of a magistrate, at Huntingdon, St. Ives and Ely successively; that he became known as the champion of commoners' rights in Fen drainage schemes and gained the title of Lord of the Fens, and that, with this title as his sole claim to public note, he again sat for Huntingdon in the Short Parliament in 1640, and, finally, as member for Cambridge, in the Long Parliament. He saw enough of Parliaments to have no illusions about them.

Of his personal life during this secluded period we can only surmise that he underwent a long and severe spiritual stress, and emerged with strong religious convictions wrought into his very essence and saturated with the thought and language of the Bible. As he stands up in our eyes today like some vast oak, not smooth or very comely but immensely strong, so must these spiritual changes have been accompanied by much harsh rending; the fibres of oak do not yield easily. In 1638 he writes to his cousin, Mrs. St. John:

I live, you know where—in Meshac, which they say signifies Prolonging; in Kedar, which signifies Darkness; yet the Lord forsaketh me not. . . . Blessed be His Name for shining upon so dark a heart as mine. You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true: I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me.

CROMWELL'S sins may have been of the grosser sort or only such as those of John Bunyan. We have no means of knowing, but what Bunyan says about himself is informing. In "Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners" he tells us:

My sins did so offend the Lord that even in my childhood He did scare and afflict me with fearful dreams and did terrify me with dreadful visions . . . of Heaven and Hell. . . . When I was but a child of nine or ten years old these things did so distress my soul that then in the midst of my merry thoughts and childish vanities, amidst my vain companions, I was often much cast down and afflicted therewith; yet could I not let go my sins.

These sins, then and thereafter, consisted of a love for tip-cat, hockey, bell-ringing and swearing—the last cured by one rebuke from an old woman. As Dr. Simcott, Cromwell's physician at Huntingdon, told Sir Philip Warwick, that "for many years his patient was a most splenetic man and had fancies about the cross in that town; and that he had been called up to him at midnight and such unreasonable hours very many times, upon a strong fancy, which made him believe that he was then dying," it seems probable that he was much such a visionary as Bunyan and not necessarily more of a sinner. The death of his eldest son, Robert, in 1639, appears to have deepened his natural melancholia. His attendant, Harvey, reports that in 1658, a few days after the death of his daughter Elizabeth, he had read to him the passage in Philippians which ends: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me," and remarked at the conclusion of the reading: "This Scripture did once save my life; when my eldest son died; which went as a dagger to my heart, indeed it did."

FROM his obscurity and his wrestlings with the stubbornness of his own soul Cromwell emerges into the light of history the figure we have seen him through Warwick's eyes. Another portrait of him, in a letter of John Maidston to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, goes somewhat deeper:

His body was well-compact and strong, his stature under six feet (I believe about two inches), his head so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts. His temper exceeding fiery, as I have known, but the flame of it kept down for the most part, or soon allayed by those moral endowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distress, even to an effeminate measure; though God had made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear but what was due to God Himself, of which there was a large proportion. Yet did he exceed in tenderness towards sufferers. A larger soul, I think, hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was.

Cromwell's compassion and tenderness were quickly stirred, whether by great griefs or the small oppressions of the humble or injuries to men's conscience. To his brother-in-law, Colonel Valentine Walton, hot from Marston Moor, he writes:

Truly England and the Church of God hath a great favor from the Lord in this great victory. Give glory, all the glory, to God. Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon-shot. It brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. . . . Sir, you know my own trials this way, but the Lord supported me with this, That the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. . . . He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. . . . He is a glorious Saint in Heaven wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrow; seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth.

In 1646 he writes to a Royalist, Thomas Knyvett:

Sir,—I cannot pretend any interest in you for anything I have done nor ask any favor for any service I may do you . . . but I am bold to ask your favor on behalf of your honest poor neighbors of Hapton, who, as I am informed, are in some trouble, and are likely to be put to more by one Robert Browne. . . . Truly, nothing moves me to desire this more than the pity I bear them in respect of their honesties and the trouble

I hear they are likely to suffer for their consciences. And however the world interprets it I am not ashamed to solicit for such as are anywhere under oppression of this kind, doing even as I would be done by. Sir, this is a quarrelsome age, and anger seems to me to be the worse where the ground is difference of opinion—which to cure, to hurt men in their names, persons or estates, will not be found an apt remedy. Sir, it will not repent you to protect these poor men of Hapton from injury and oppression.

The poor men were probably Sectarians, for whom very few spoke in that age. After reporting the victory of Naseby to Lenthall, Speaker of the Commons, he enters another plea for the Sectarians:

Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beeseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience and you for the liberty he fights for.

There is here, perhaps, some evidence of that largeness of spirit Maidston talks of; there is certainly nothing small or niggling about it. Of that other side of Cromwell's compassion—mercifulness to the enemy in the field—we may see something as we go along; it will be useful to touch here upon another point of Maidston's tribute.

In the whole of his public career Cromwell's courage is, of course, apparent; one or two explicit instances of it may be interesting. At Winceby fight, as John Vicars chronicles, "Colonel Cromwell fell with brave resolution upon the enemy; his horse was killed under him at the first charge and fell down upon him, and as he rose up he was knocked down again by the gentleman who charged him, but afterwards he recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hands and bravely mounted himself again." The enemy were routed by that first charge and few of their three thousand got away. Cromwell does not report Winceby fight at all in any document now extant; he does report the storm of Drogheda very fully and memorably, but he says no word of something he did there; we find out about it from the Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, a remarkably honest man, though in the end no friend of Cromwell.

At Drogheda "reasonable good breaches" were battered in the walls and an attack was made but driven back with heavy loss, "yet, being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt; wherein God was pleased so to animate them that they got ground of the enemy and forced him to quit his entrenchments." Thus far Cromwell, reporting the matter to the Speaker; but Ludlow says that Cromwell, "resolved to put all upon it, went down to the breach, and, calling out a fresh reserve of Colonel Ewer's men, put himself at their head, and with the word 'our Lord God' led them up again with courage and resolution, though they met with a hot dispute." There never was any taint of self-advertisement about Cromwell.

This was the man who, at the age of forty-three, learned his drill from Colonel Dalbier, a Dutch veteran, and turned himself into a soldier. He had the soldier's eye and instinct ready-made, and with them was able early to see and understand the lessons of the ramshackle war. What these were, and how his soldiering began, he told long afterwards in a speech to one of his Protectorate parliaments; here is the characteristic story:

I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater; from my first being a Captain of a Troop of Horse; and did labour as well as I could to make my instruments help me in that work. . . . I had a very worthy Friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first going out I saw our men were beaten at every hand. . . . "Your troops," said I, "are most of them old, decayed serving men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and," said I, "their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and persons of quality; do you think that the spirits of such base, mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit; and take it not ill what I say—I know you will not—of a spirit that will go on as far as gentlemen will go; or else you will be beaten still." . . . I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I could do somewhat in it; and I raised such men as had the fear of God before them; as made some conscience of what they did; and

from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy they beat continually.

It was a proud and a true boast. These men of religion were never the whole sword of the Parliament, but they were the edge and point of the blade. Cromwell found them down in his own East Anglia, and we get interesting outside glimpses of their growth. Whitelocke says: "He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel, and under Cromwell. And thus, being armed within by the satisfaction of their consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly and charge desperately." Baxter says: "He had a special care to get religious men into his troop. These men, making not money, but that which they took for the public felicity to be their end, were the more engaged to be valiant: as far as I could learn, they never once ran away before an enemy."

The numbers had grown by May, 1643; a news-letter of that date informs us that "Colonel Cromwell hath two thousand brave men, well disciplined; no man swears but he pays his twelve-pence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other Roundhead he is cashiered." Reading between the lines of this, it is quite evident that by now all were not men of equal religion. Although Cromwell writes early in the following September: "My troops increase. I have a lovely company; you would respect them, did you know them. They are no 'Anabaptists'; they are honest, sober Christians: they expect to be used as men"; yet at the end of the month he writes: "Many of those men which are of your county's choosing are so far from serving you that—were it not that I have honest troops to master them—I may justly fear they would cut my throat."

But it was Cromwell himself who did the mastering, and out of many mixed metals, some of doubtful temper, he forged the terrible weapon which laid all England, all Scotland, all Ireland—almost all Europe—at his feet. Rupert dubbed Cromwell "Ironside" at Marston Moor, and from him the fine name passed to his troopers, and from them, again, loosely to all the cavalry of the New Model, of which at first they formed only a small part; the rest were chiefly volunteers from the militia and train-bands, pressed men and deserters from the Royalists forces, who were judged to be among the best of the recruits. Elements so various had political and religious views as varied, yet they were welded into the single-hearted army of veritable Ironsides which at Dunbar routed headlong a Scottish army more than twice as numerous, well-found, inflamed by frantic Presbyterian preachers, and led by Alexander Leslie, the masterly veteran of the Continental wars. The Scots lost three thousand slain and ten thousand prisoners; the English, not above two hundred men all told.

Partly it was Cromwell's great leadership which wrought the miracle, partly his iron discipline. His soldiers did not like the discipline, but they endured it at his hands because they knew him, though stern, for patient, just and merciful, careful of their wants, mindful of their human dignity; because he "used them as men." And when, moved by political passion, they once mutinied, at his unsupported word they stood forth from their ranks to be shot or hanged, because they felt in him the subduing majesty of a natural king.

Cromwell's rule of the army was an epitome of his rule of the nation; there were the same various and conflicting elements similarly controlled or harmonized, by methods similarly endured for similar reasons. The people as a whole by no means loved him, but they recognized, grudgingly, that them also he "used as men." Their complaint, in general, was that he used all as men and not merely some of them.

A conception and practice of toleration immensely superior to any obtaining until our own day gave rise, indeed, to not a few of Cromwell's troubles. The Presbyterians were the dominant religious party, and what uncurbed Presbyterianism meant we may guess from the words of Thomas Cartwright, chief of the English Presbyterians some eighty years before:

I deny that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Here-

tics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost.

In Scotland, Presbyterianism actually had traveled this bitter and pitiless road; in England it would have and did, so far as it dared; but Cromwell would have none of it. We have the problem and the principle upon which he tried to solve it presented well enough in his own words:

"Mercy and Truth shall meet together"?—Here is a great deal of "truth" among professors, but very little "mercy"! They are ready to cut the throats of one another. . . . Look on this Nation; look on it! Consider what are the varieties of interests in this Nation, civil and religious—if they be worthy the name of interests. If God did not hinder, it would all but make up one confusion. We should find there would be but one Cain in England if God did not restrain! We should have another, more bloody, Civil War. For, I beseech you, what is the general spirit of this Nation? Is it not that each sect of people may be uppermost? That every sort of men may get the power into their hands? Indeed, that hath been one of the vanities of our contest. Every sect saith: "Oh, give me liberty!" But give it him, and to his power he will not yield it to anybody else. Where is our ingenuousness? "Liberty of Conscience"—truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal! . . . If a man of one form will oppress one of another, I will not suffer it in him. My practice since the last Parliament hath been to let all this Nation see that whatever pretensions to Religion would continue quiet, peaceable, they should enjoy conscience and liberty to themselves; and not to make Religion a pretence for arms and blood. And truly I am against all "liberty of conscience" repugnant to this . . . If men will profess—be they those under Baptism, be they those of the Independent judgment simply, or of the Presbyterian judgment—in the name of God, encourage them, countenance them; so long as they plainly continue to be thankful to God and to make use of the liberty given them to enjoy their own consciences. . . . This, truly, hath been my temper. I have had some boxes of the ear, and rebukes on the one hand and on the other—some censuring me for Presbytery, others as an inletter to all the Sects and Heresies of the Nation. I have borne my reproach, but I have, through God's mercy, not been unhappy in hindering any one Religion to impose upon another. . . . Presbyterians, Independents,

PUNISHED FOR QUAKERISM

This engraving, attributed to W. Hollar, depicts the persecution of a Quaker, James Nailor, who was whipped by the hangman and had his tongue bored through with a hot iron. Cromwell, with a tolerance in advance of his age, intervened on Nailor's behalf, and likewise in many other cases showed compassion.

all have the same spirit of faith and prayer; they agree in this have here no names of difference; pity it is they should in anything be otherwise! All that believe have the real unity, which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual. For being united in forms, every Christian will for peace' sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren in things of the mind, we look for no compulsion but that of light and reason. . . . The Ministers in England are supported and have liberty to preach the Gospel, though not to rail, nor, under pretence of preaching, to overtop the Civil Power or debase it as they please. And a pretended fear lest hereby Error should step in, is like the man who would keep all the wine out the country lest men should be drunk. It will be found an unjust and unwise jealousy to deprive a man of his natural liberty upon a supposition he may abuse it. When he doth abuse it, judge!

And he was as good as his word. So long as they would be peaceable and reasonably unostentatious about their modes

of worship, even Catholics and Episcopalians were suffered, so that Cavalier Evelyn was able to attend church service performed according to the Book of Common Prayer, and Cromwell could write with truth to Mazarin that, though state toleration was as yet impossible,

> under my Government Your Eminency, in the behalf of Catholics, has less reason for complaint as to rigour upon men's consciences than under the Parliament. For I have of some, and those very many, had compassion; making a difference and plucking many out of the raging fire of persecution, which did tyrannize over their consciences and encroached by an arbitrariness of power over their estates.

He was better than his word; for even when Presbyterians, red-hot Republican Anabaptists, Catholics and Episcopalians joined in Royalist insurrection and assassination plots, he bridled them with a very merciful hand and still suffered them. It is exactly true that if, in his attitude towards Catholics, Cromwell's lights were not so very bright, at least they were brighter than those of his contemporaries; and none had to intercede with him on behalf of Catholics as he had to intercede to end the persecution of the Vaudois Protestants.

As in tolerance, so in mercy, Cromwell was in advance of his age. When a beaten foe lay in his hand he literally labored to spare him, except where the needs of actual battle made sparing folly and a greater cruelty. His campaign in Ireland provides no exception to this. An excessive quantity of shuddering picturesqueness has been expended upon it; a little calm consideration would have been more illuminating.

In refusing the terms of surrender which were offered—they were good terms, and, when accepted, in later sieges, were perfectly observed—Drogheda and Wexford laid themselves open to the usual penalty of sack and slaughter following a storm: a custom of war which endured until Wellington's day. The only difference between the storms of Drogheda and Wexford and that, for example, of Badajoz, is that in the former cases the slaughter was confined to the armed garrisons, who, at Drogheda, were mostly English renegades. Cromwell challenged his foes, the Irish prelates, to give "an instance of one man, since my coming into Ireland, not in arms, massacred, destroyed, or banished." The challenge was not met then, and never has been since.

SEAL OF THE COMMONWEALTH

The Great Seal of the Commonwealth was designed by Thomas Simon, engraver to the Mint, in 1651. On the reverse appears the House of Commons; the obverse (above) bears a map of the British Isles with her guardian fleet of warships.

British Museum

Cromwell's settlement of Ireland, as distinguished from his conduct of the subjugation, has been often accounted a heavy blemish upon his reputation. Countless would-be settlers of Ireland, both English and Irish, have ended their toils with heavily blemished reputations, and in any case Cromwell's settlement was not so much his as the Parliament's—although he certainly approved of it and did have it carried out—and not so much the Parliament's as part of the traditional policy of England. It was strictly in accordance with tradition that it should prove to be a mistake. If any English policy in Ireland had ever been other than a mistake it would be easier

to point out where the error lay. No excuse can be offered for these unfortunate facts, unless it is the excuse which the bull would doubtless make for tossing the banderillero. From the days when she first provoked Henry II's intervention by her heavy accumulation of English slaves Ireland was long industrious in sticking barbed darts into her burly neighbor's neck.

It is a characteristic of the larger statesmanship that its policies succeed only, if ever, at a date so postponed that they are already obsolete. Cromwell was a statesman of the lesser kind; he concentrated on the needs of the moment and his policies succeeded at once and immensely. His domestic policy was that epitomized by himself, "Healing and Settling," and he wholly enforced it upon a nation boiling with virulent animosities; the appropriate comment is in the words of an enemy: "All England over, these were halcyon days." If Scotland be included within the domestic circle we may fittingly consider that other comment of Burnet, also an enemy: "We always reckon those eight years of the usurpation a time of great peace and prosperity."

His foreign policy was designed to restore England to her former greatness among the nations; actually, he erected her to a supremacy she had never known before and has never approached since. "There is not a nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you," he was able to tell his Parliament; it was proudly true, but it was much understating the case. The unfriendly Clarendon was nearer the true facts when he wrote that "it was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries; there is nothing he could have demanded that any of them would have denied him."

PURITAN DIVINE

This portrait by an unknown artist shows Richard Baxter (1615-91), the eminent Puritan divine, who was an earnest preacher and a prolific writer. In his Life he gives a poignant description of the anti-Puritan attitude.
National Portrait Gallery, London

BROAD-MINDED ROYALIST DIVINE

Thomas Fuller (1608-61), English ecclesiastical historian and divine, was renowned for his learning and wit. Although an ardent Royalist, he did not denounce the Puritans as hypocrites, for he had vision capable of seeing both sides.
Permission of the Rt. Hon. Lord Fitzhardinge

REVOLUTIONS breed both anarchy and the despots to correct it, so Cromwell was the inevitable despot of his hour. But he was the very unusual kind of despot who is always striving to divest himself of his despotism. Fortunately, perhaps, for England, he strove in vain. Had he once been able to gather a Parliament which would do anything beyond squabbling over technicalities he would certainly have been able to build an enduring constitution and England would now probably be enjoying the doubtful blessings of a republic.

Of personal ambition he had no trace; of the vulgar egotism of a Napoleon assuredly not the least speck. "As an

officer," says Waller, "he was obedient, and did never dispute my orders or argue upon them." When he ungirt the soldier's sword he had borne in the field for ten years he laid aside with it a splendor of achievement and a height of power matched by few princes or commanders, surpassed by none, and for nineteen months obeyed the ghost of a Parliament with its shadow of legal authority as unquestioningly as he had obeyed Waller. In the end, to ward off anarchy, he stepped into the supreme place, but he did so with most reluctant feet. He told his Parliament:

> I have lived the latter part of my age in the fire; in the midst of troubles. And I have not known, I have been many times at a loss, which way to stand under the weight of what hath lain upon me. I would have been glad to have lived under my woodside, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertake such a Government as this—a burden too heavy for any creature . . . I am a man standing in the Place I am in, not so much out of hope of doing any good as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil; for truly I have, as before God, often thought that I could not tell what my business was, nor what I was in the place I stood in, save comparing myself to a good Constable set to keep the peace of the Parish.

Such a conception sounds almost flatly modest; in reality it shows a gigantic common sense and sanity possible only to the very greatest men. In its very nature a destruction of the intolerable and a search for the tolerable, every revolution has a period when its supreme need is just such a good constable, who will keep order while as yet no new machinery has been devised to replace the old destroyed; in all history only the Puritan Revolution found one. Others have produced in plenty high-flown dreamers who became disordered fanatics, and grandiose dictators who became tyrants. What chaos resulted in their "parish" we may see in a book by Dr. Figueiredo, living in modern times amidst the results of the Portuguese revolution, these results being:

> Public authority discredited, intelligence and character persecuted as irritating obstacles, strange new values created, Governments concerned only to last from day to day, and to insinuate themselves into finance and bureaucracy. In sixteen years we had over forty revolutionary, party, or coalition Ministries, with nearly five hundred Ministers belonging to twenty parties; eight Parliaments and over twenty revolutions and pronunciamientos.

With a slight adjustment of figures that might have been written of the French, Russian or German revolutions, or of any revolution so far known; that it could not have been written of the Puritan revolution is due to the one fact that it possessed its Cromwell.

Thus it was that when Puritanism passed into a derided memory its work remained, and it was exactly the work it had set out to do—to ensure that in England a ruler should never again oppress a subject in mind, body or estate. A dynasty had to destroy itself before it was known how well the work was done. The man who saw to it that it was so done was broken at last by his "burden too heavy for any creature," and died muttering: "It is not my design to drink or sleep; but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone." It was ironically fitting that it should be Samuel Pepys, in the crowding national shames of the Restoration, who made him a very stately epitaph: "It is strange how everybody do nowadays reflect upon Oliver and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbor princes fear him." With his usual acumen Pepys has recorded a modern judgment of the great Protector.